URBAN LIFE IN MUGHAL INDIA AS DEPICTED IN THE EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS' ACCOUNTS

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis **"Urban Life in Mughal India as Depicted in the European Travellers' Accounts"** by **Ms. Ambika Singh** is the original research work of the candidate, and is suitable for submission to the examiners and for the **award of Ph.D. degree.**

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ABSTRACT

The accounts of the European travellers have been considered as one of the most authentic, descriptive and even primary sources by many historians and scholars. They even preferred the travelogues over the contemporary Persian and Indian texts for a long time for the study of the medieval and early modern India. The scholars have resolutely followed the veracity of the European travellers' accounts. These travelogues have provided us with detailed information about the trade and commerce, including both international and intra-national trade along with the growth and development of the towns and the cities as a whole entity. They also provide us with ample information to draw a complete picture of the Mughal India including the people, the communities, their religious and cultural beliefs and the overall living standard. The combination of these forms the basis of the process of urbanization and the urban life during the Mughal period.

The subject *"Urban life in Mughal India as depicted in the European travellers' accounts"* intends to analyze the critical factors; political, geographical, economic or socio-cultural, which contributed to the urban life of one of the greatest eras of Indian history. The purview of this work is based on the valuable insight of the European travellers who visited the country during the Mughal period. This work is primarily based on the journals, travelogues, letters and diaries written by the European travellers which provide plethora of information about the period under review. The work is segregated into six chapters.

The first chapter deals with the determining factors in the foundation of towns and the choice for their sites, which were not limited to geographical and topographical aspects, but also several other considerations such as military and strategic, administrative and commercial. The section 'Emergence of towns' provides us with the early history and the attributes of some of the key towns of Mughal India which served as the stepping stones in the foundation of the towns. Further the rise of the towns has been discussed with an intention to identify the key factors such as the geographical location, the developing population and towns becoming centres of trade etc. The sub-head of urban landscape gives a vivid description of the architecture of the towns both within and outside of it such as the walls, ditches, gates, reservoirs or

tanks and the public buildings and their maintenance. Lastly, the factors leading to the deterioration of the towns have been discussed.

The second chapter enlightens about the categorization of the towns owing to their administrative, commercial and industrial importance, and further as the major port towns and religious and educational centres. Along with that, the various trades and crafts that flourished in these towns and their contribution to the evolution of the towns on certain key aspects has also been discussed.

In the third chapter, the system of administration during the Mughal period has been discussed, which has been further branched out to town administration and port administration; which provides detailed information about the means used by the administration to maintain law and order in their respective jurisdiction. The scope of power of the executive officers such as, the *kotwal, qazi, mutasaddi* and other officers have also been accounted for.

The fourth chapter named 'Trade routes' gives relevant information about the routes described by several travellers. This includes both national and international routes. The evolution of several routes and the picturesque description of the highways as depicted by the European travellers have also been included. Some of the alternative routes have also been illustrated. The development of *carvansarais* in several towns and the maintenance and administration of the same has been attempted. Further, this chapter deals with the means of communication and transport used by the mass.

The fifth chapter provides information about the trade and commerce. The description of the key markets in medieval India, their control, the imminent role of Indian merchants, the merchants from abroad and their agents in the commercial activities of the towns has also been traced. The primary commodities of trade, their import and export both nationally and internationally have also been briefly elucidated. I have also attempted to present some statistical data about the volume of goods either imported or exported, the fluctuation in the price and the reasons triggering these fluctuations in the trade.

The last chapter of this work entails the socio-cultural aspect of the urban society, categorized under the underprivileged, middle and the upper stratums and their relativity. Therein, the description of the dwellings, their costumes and attire, the victuals of all the classes has been elucidated. Further, the social life of the people of Mughal India; the culture and tradition, their recreational activities, the fests and the celebrations, the relative position of women in the society and lastly their education has been discussed. The summation of all of these largely encouraged the urban life in the Indo-Mughal society.

A conclusive study of the Mughal period on the basis of the European travelogues led us to believe that the Mughal India owes its urbanization primarily to the industrial and commercial causes and the establishment of a strong central government. Along with that the interdependence between the urban and rural towns mutually benefitted each other and the country as a whole. As specialized trade developed within and outside the regions, the cities grew in size and importance. Expansion of cultivation, increase and surplus of agricultural produce and raw material, shift of rural population to urban centres and finally the growing commerce and expanding trade and domestic industries were the important factors which promoted the growth of medieval Indian towns.

The abundance of materials for production and manufacture, not only made the country self-sufficient, but also had the surplus, which was enough to establish prominent trade relations both nationally and internationally. Relative scrutiny of coeval industrial aspects in India and Europe reveals that in this respect India was growing at a faster rate than most of the European countries. Another critical factor in the evolution of the urban society and establishing the architecture of its economy was the impact of the different European nations which had established trade with India. The East India Company was set up here, with a vision of unparalleled commercial enterprise along with the Dutch and the Portuguese merchants during the seventeenth century. Trade by sea as well as by land increased in volume. The port towns and the maritime regions flourished. The advantageous position in respect of foreign trade led to a considerable expansion of towns. Some of them compared favourably in size and population with European towns like London and Paris. Thus, on basis of the comparative description of the European travellers, one can say that Agra, Lahore and

Ahmadabad were among the biggest towns of the world. Further, with the concentration of power and wealth at the capitals and other places the population grew rapidly and the administrative towns became centres of commercial and economic activity.

Thus, it can be said that there were numerous facets of the Mughal India, the summation which led to the urbanization of that period. It can also be said that in some aspects, the growth and evolution that took place during this period has laid the stepping stone for the urban life of the modern day India.

Following is a list of the most widely quoted travellers and the chronology of their visits to India in a tabulated form.

Table : Important and widely quoted travellers

S. No.	Traveller	Nationality	Year of visit to India	Mughal Emperors during the visit
1	Ludovico de Varthema	Italy	1502-08	None
2	Duarte Barbosa	Portugal	1516-18	None
3	S. J. Monserrate (missionary)	"	1580-82	Akbar
4	Ralph Fitch	England	1583-91	"
5	Jon Huyghen Van *Linschoten*	Holland	1583	"
6	John Mildenhall	England	1599-1606	"
7	Francois Pyrard of Laval	France	1608-09	Jahangir
8	William Finch	England	1608-11	"
9	William Hawkins	"	1608-11	"
10	*John Jourdain*	"	*1608-17*	"
11	Joseph Salbancke		1609-10	"
12	Thomas Best	"	1612-14	"
13	Thomas Coryat	"	1612-17	"
14	Nicholas Withington	"	1612-16	"
15	Nicholas Downton	"	1614-15	"
16	Richard Steel and John	"	1615-16	"

	Crowther			
17	Thomas Roe	"	1615-19	"
18	Edward Terry	"	1616-19	"
19	Francisco Pelsaert	Holland	1620-27	"
20	Pieter Van Den Brocke	"	1620-29	"
21	Pietro Della Valle	Italy	1623-25	"
22	Thomas Herbert	England	1626-29	Shahjahan
23	Peter Mundy	"	1628-34	"
24	Fray Sebastian Manrique	Portugal	1628-43	"
25	John Albert de Mandelslo	Germany	1638-39	"
26	John Baptiste Tavernier	France	1640-61	"
27	Niccolao Manucci	Italy	1653-1708	Shahjahan and Aurangzeb
28	Francois Bernier	"	1656-68	"
29	Jean de Thevenot	France	1667	Aurangzeb
30	John Marshall	England	1668-72	"
31	Thomas Bowrey	"	1669-79	"
32	Francois Martin	France	1670-94	"
33	Abbe Carre	"	1672-74	"
34	John Fryer	England	1672-81	"
35	Streysham Master	"	1675-80	"
36	William Hedges	"	1681-87	"
37	Alexander Hamilton	"	1688-1723	Aurangzeb and later Mughals
38	John Ovington	"	1689	Aurangzeb
39	Giovanni Francesco Gemilli Careri	France	1695	"
40	William Norris	England	1699-1702	"

ABBREVIATIONS

A.N.	*Akbarnama*
Abbe Carre	*The Travels of the Abbe Carre in India*
A'in	*A'in-i-Akbari*
Badaoni	*Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*
Barani	*Ta'rikh-i Firuz Shahi*
Barbosa	*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*
Bernier	*Travels in the Mogul Empire*
Bowrey	*A Geographical Account of Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*
Caesar Frederick	Extracts of... his eighteen years Indian observations
Calendar	*A Supplementary Calendar of Documents in the India*
Careri	*The Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*
Court Minutes	*Court Minutes of the East India Company*
D.F.I.	*The Dutch Factories in India*
De Laet	*The Empire of the Great Mogol*
Della Valle	*The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India*
Downton	*The Voyage of Nicholas Downton to the East Indies*
Du Jarric	Du Jarric's account of the Jesuit missions to the Court of Akbar
E.F.I.	*The English Factories in India*
Early Travels	*Early Travels in India*
Fitch., Ryley	*Ralph Fitch, England's Pioneer to India and Burma*
Floris	*His voyage to the East Indies*
Fryer	*A New Account of East India*
H.N.	*Humayunama*
Hamilton	*A new Account of the East Indies*

Hawkins	*His relation of the occurents which happened in the time of his residence in India*
Hedges	*The Diary of Williams Hedges*
Herbert	*Some years Travels the into Divers parts of Africa and Asia the Great*
I.G.	*Imperial Gazetteer of India*
IESHR	*The Indian Economic & Social History review, Delhi*
IJE	*Indian Journal of Economics*
JASB	*Journal of the Asiatic Society Of Bengal*
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic & Social History of the Orient*
John van Twist	*A General Description of India*
Jourdain	*Journal, describing his expriences in Arabia, India*
K.T.	*Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*
Lancaster	*The Voyages of Sir Thomas Lancaster to the East Indies*
Letters Received	*Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East*
Linschoten	*The Voyage of John Huyghen Van Linschoten to the East Indies*
Mandelslo	*Mandelslo's Travels in Western India*
Manrique	*Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique*
Manucci	*Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India*
Marshall	*John Marshall in India- Notes & Observations in Bengal*
Middleton	*Account of the Sixth Voyage set forth by the East India Company*
Mildenhall	*The travels of John Mildenhall into Indies*
Mir'at (Suppl.)	*Mir'at-i-Ahmadi (Supplement)*
Mir'at	*Mir'at-i-Ahmadi*
Monserrate	*Commentary on his Journey to the Court of Akbar*
Ovington	*A voyage to Surat in the Year* 1689

Padshahnama	Abdul-l Hamid Lahori
Pelsaert	*Jahangir's India*
Peter Mundy	*The 'Travels' of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia*
Pieter van den Brocke	Surat 'Diary'
PIHC	*Proceedings of Indian History Congress*
Purchas	*Purchas his Pilgrimes*
Pyrard	*The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies*
Relations	*Relations of Golconda in the Early Seventeenth Century*
Streynsham	*The Diaries of Streynsham Master*
T.A.	*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*
Terry	*A Voyage to East India*
The Embassy	*The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*
Thevenot	*The Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*
Thomas Best	*The Voyage of Thomas Bestto East Indies*
Tome Pires	*Suma Oriental Of Tome Pires*
Travernier	*The 'Travels in India'*
Tuzuk	*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*

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Introduction

Polity, Economy and Socio-Cultural development are interwoven in the yarn of the history of Urbanization. Polity sketches and outlines dynastic changes, encompasses the size of the state, its politico-administrative structure, as well as administrative measures and policies having a bearing on all relative matters. Economy comprehensively includes the land, its produce and its trade. It also includes the financial capital, the manufacture and its commercial markets. The development of a town or a country is a summation of the development of its individuals on both social and economic scale, and of the town itself as a single body; by the degree of diversification in the trades and skills, which subsequently is ascertained by its vertical and horizontal linkages. Vertically a town is linked up with its hinterland consisting of both rural and urban areas, ranging from villages and *qasbas* to the large *suba* or city. The city is at the top of the vertical hierarchy in the region and is horizontally linked up with its peer towns and cities outside the region. The social and the cultural development of the individuals is also a result of the interaction between the towns (both lateral and vertical). When the people of different pedigree, cultures and traditions come together by the means of trade, travels or miscellaneous needs, they learn from each other and their horizon of knowledge and culture expands. As a result of which, the individuals become more capable, in turn making their community more developed and advanced. A good example of this would be the Indo-Persian culture, which is a conglomeration of the Hindu culture and the Mughal civilization. The effect of polity and economy on the changing pattern of urbanization, or the growth and decline of urban centres is a sensitive index of socio-economic change, particularly in the case of average towns.

The growth of the individual cities is a key aspect in the growth of a community. It is the city where the arts and crafts, trade and industries flourish. It is the city which provides the place of worship, the market, the hall of justice and the institution for education and learning. All of this symbolizes the settled urban life which begins with the growth of culture and continues to flourish with the development of permanent shelters and utilities, man-made amenities of life in society and permanent buildings for protection and storage.

The studies of the rural economy and society have reached a point where they require urban studies to complement them. The present work is an attempt to analyze and evaluate the urbanization and the urban life during the reign of the Mughal

Emperors between *c.* 1556 and *c.* 1707, primarily based on the journals, travelogues, letters and diaries written by the European travellers. The accounts of the European travellers have been considered as one of the most authentic, descriptive and even primary sources by many historians and scholars. They even preferred the travelogues over the contemporary Persian and Indian texts for a long time for the study of the medieval and early modern India. The scholars have resolutely followed the veracity of the European travellers' accounts. Thus, the valuable insight of travellers has provided us with the information about the trade and commerce, including both international and intra-national trade along with the growth and development of the towns and the cities as a whole entity. They also provide us with ample information to draw a complete picture of the Mughal India including the people, the communities, their religious and cultural beliefs and the overall living standard. The combination of these two forms the basis of the process of urbanization in the Mughal period.

With the arrival of the Great Mughals in India, the towns of Northern India witnessed a paradigm shift in their social and economic status. The chief characteristic of that age was that the social, economic and religious institutions were not distinct from one another. Moreover, they were intended for the welfare of all the stratum of people.

The history of India before the seventeenth century was greatly affected by the geographical situation of the country. Heretofore, the North and north-western India had seen several invasions and destructive wars. This period oscillated between turmoil and political pandemonium. With the advent of the seventeenth century, there came stability of the government and the people pursued a better economic position in the society. As the Mughal rule confederated, it resulted in uniformity of administration along with harmony and security of life and property. The chief attribute of the Mughal period was that, the Mughals strived to centralize the administration. They also attempted to suppress the obstinate elements by preservation of law and order and placate the conquered people. Commercial contacts with the larger part of the world were also established ambitiously. All these factors culminated in the growth of innumerable towns in the northern region. With the upper classes generating more wealth than ever, along with the abundance of resources and rapid growth of entrepreneurs and their involvement in trade and commerce unfolded a new design, in the urban society. The growth of the towns, their character and

impact on the country as a whole immensely increases the importance of the study of the urban life of this period.

The Mughal India reached the pinnacle of its commercial prosperity and greatness. As a result of the improved economic system, the villages became prosperous and served better as economic entities. The agricultural surplus produce, apparently, led to the growth of the cities and widening of urban activities. Small markets therefore expanded, where surplus goods were sold through brokers, who were generally local men. In course of time, these places evolved into '*mandis*' or markets which subsequently developed into cities which differed in size and importance based on the volume of trade and facilities for transport of exportable goods.

Foreign merchants flocked to India and foreign factories were established in different towns and the Indian towns thus became repositories for multifarious trade and commerce of the globe. Several cities and towns in different provinces evolved as centres of extensive commercial activity. The middle class emerged as an influential stratum of society, which had an effective control over commerce and industry of the country. Money was advanced to Indian producers and manufacturers, and the commodities were purchased and stored by the foreign merchants to export abroad.

I have made a humble attempt to assess the value and contribution of all the aspects whether political, geographical, economic or socio-cultural in the furtherance of the urban life in Mughal India. While exploring and discussing the topics, I have also tried to illustrate the corresponding importance of the same.

Beyond the prologue, the core work of my subject is divided into six chapters. The first chapter deals with 'the emergence, rise, the urban landscape and deterioration of medieval Indian towns', the second with 'the categorization and evolution of towns', the third with the 'system of administration of the towns', the fourth with 'the trade routes and means of transport and communication', fifth contains 'trade and commerce during the Mughal Period' and last one includes the 'socio-cultural aspects of the urban society' followed by a conclusive report of the findings.

Under the subject "*Urban life in Mughal India as depicted in the European travellers' accounts*", I have made an attempt to outline the history of the towns of

Mughal India spanning from Kashmir in the North to Golconda in the South, Dacca in the East to Thatta and Surat in the West. I would now give a brief description of the topics that come under the purview of individual chapters.

The first chapter deals with the determining factors in the foundation of towns and the choice for their sites, which were not limited to geographical and topographical aspects, but also several other considerations such as military and strategic, administrative and commercial. The section 'Emergence of towns' provides us with the early history and the attributes of some of the key towns of Mughal India which served as the stepping stones in the foundation of the towns. Further the rise of the towns has been discussed with an intention to identify the key factors such as the geographical location, the developing population and towns becoming centres of trade etc. The sub-head of urban landscape gives a vivid description of the architecture of the towns both within and outside of it such as the walls, ditches, gates, reservoirs or tanks and the public buildings and their maintenance. Lastly, the factors leading to the deterioration of the towns have been discussed.

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In the third chapter, the system of administration during the Mughal period has been discussed, which has been further branched out to town administration and port administration; which provides detailed information about the means used by the administration to maintain law and order in their respective jurisdiction. The scope of power of the executive officers such as, the *kotwal, qazi, mutasaddi* and other officers have also been accounted for.

The fourth chapter named 'Trade routes' gives relevant information about the routes described by several travellers. This includes both national and international routes. The evolution of several routes and the picturesque description of the highways as depicted by the European travellers have also been included. Some of the alternative routes have also been illustrated. The development of *carvansarais* in several towns and the maintenance and administration of the same has been

attempted. Further, this chapter deals with the means of communication and transport used by the mass.

The fifth chapter provides information about the trade and commerce. The description of the key markets in medieval India, their control, the imminent role of Indian merchants, the merchants from abroad and their agents in the commercial activities of the towns has also been traced. The primary commodities of trade, their import and export both nationally and internationally have also been briefly elucidated. I have also attempted to present some statistical data about the volume of goods either imported or exported, the fluctuation in the price and the reasons triggering these fluctuations in the trade.

The last chapter of this work entails the socio-cultural aspect of the urban society, categorized under the underprivileged, middle and the upper stratums and their relativity. Therein, the description of the dwellings, their costumes and attire, the victuals of all the classes has been elucidated. Further, the social life of the people of Mughal India; the culture and tradition, their recreational activities, the fests and the celebrations, the relative position of women in the society and lastly their education has been discussed. The summation of all of these largely encouraged the urban life in the Indo-Mughal society.

The subject undertaken for this study is so profuse, that one's claim to have dealt with the subject extensively will not be easily justifiable. On my part, I have strived with due diligence to subsume all the aspects of the Mughal India which contributed towards the augmentation of urbanization and civic life of the period, yet one may be able to find gaps that can be fulfilled, to which I acknowledge my regrets.

SOURCES

To frame and complete this work I have primarily made use of the accounts of contemporary European travellers and merchants, the English and other European factories' records. Although the subject of my study is largely based on the point of view of the European travellers, the scope of study of the Mughal India cannot be justified without the use of the Persian contemporary sources. Hence, wherever necessary, either to juxtapose or to be corroborative, I have made use of the contemporary Persian sources. These sources do not contain any systematic account

of the urban life of the country, but a substantial amount of information can be gathered by collecting and correlating the information contained therein.

The European travellers' accounts have been selected from those available in English, some in Dutch and diligent effort has been made to not to leave out anything of any real importance. While such travellers who only repeat information already available in more representative accounts have generally been ignored. Some of the non-contemporary work, which belongs to the period of a few decades earlier or later, has been used. These accounts often present a picture typically similar to that of the contemporary accounts, yet the information collected from such sources have been always checked up by a comparison with them.

The translated versions of the Persian sources have been utilized. These contemporary accounts are significantly important source for the study of the urban life of Mughal India during the mid-sixteenth and seventeenth century. Having said that, the travellers' accounts are more important than the contemporary Persian literature as source material, and as such, greater emphasis has been laid on them in investigating the sources. The European travellers had nothing to fear or to accept from the rulers and their fearless writing, state the unvarnished truth, regardless of official frowns and favours. Being foreigners they recorded matters seemingly unimportant to Indian chroniclers.

When Vasco De Gama discovered the Cape route in 1498, it served as the stepping stone of a new era of relationship between India and Europe. The sudden hunger for knowledge and adventure among the prestigious Europeans was an imminent outcome of the Renaissance. The interest in discovering places, trading and innovating was growing exponentially. After the return of Vasco da Gama with a valuable cargo of spices, as race for lucrative commerce began which included the Portuguese in the early 16^{th} century and later the English and the Dutch who established their factories in 1600 and 1602 respectively. Even the French attempted to control the Indian market by setting up its factory in 1664.

These developments, along with the lure of quick fortune, the curiosity to know the unknown lands and the zeal of the missionaries drew a very large number of European travellers to India. These travellers visited India during seventeenth century. Their accounts differ in quality as well as the fullness of their description. These

travellers belonged to different nationalities, professions and religions. Mostly, they consisted of merchants, doctors, envoys, ecclesiastics, soldiers, fortune hunters and adventurers of all descriptions. Most of them were well educated, some of them even being scholars from prestigious universities, belonging to good families and having vast literary knowledge. They have provided plethora of data on the life of the people of Mughal India. The knowledge provided by them about the middle class along with the rural population is of great value, as this section of society was largely untapped by the indigenous writers of that period.

This source is a perfect store-house of information regarding matters of historical importance. Some of the travellers have left us short journals; others have left us more ambitious work and full accounts of the places they visited, and supplemented the same with accounts of contemporary events. The impressions left by the travellers are valuable and supply convincing, corroborative evidence of political, social and economic conditions of India. Their observations regarding India and conditions of life of the people of India are not based on conjecture but on their personal experiences.

The records of successive travellers offer stupendous information to scrutinize the subject. They describe the events, the civic life and the trade and commerce of the country. They give us an account of the standard of living of the various sections of Indian society, their dresses, victuals, games and pastimes. Appropriate care should also be taken while studying these accounts, a their accounts, at many places has inaccuracies for different sorts of reasons. We must distinguish between facts and fancies, observations and opinions. In every case we must first examine, what chances the individual traveller had for learning the truth. It is difficult to accept every traveller's account as trustworthy or otherwise as a whole, and as such their statements have been accepted or rejected on the basis of corroboration by other sources. They have their limitations. Their knowledge of the country was sometimes superficial. Travellers were inadequately informed about the geography of the country, and had no access to the authentic chronicles of the country, and for current events sometimes they depended on grape vine and conjecture, without bothering to test the accuracy of such information. Also, the travellers did not always bring an unprejudiced mind to a foreign land. In addition to it, their unfamiliarity with the language, customs and manners of the country led to misunderstandings. Sometimes wrong information

passed from traveller to traveller and thus it gained wider currency. Their credulity and carelessness often landed them in serious blunders. At places they became self-assertive.

However inspite of these limitations, the historical merit of these accounts considering the writers' learning, integrity and sincerity, cannot be minimized as a contemporary source for Medieval Indian history, and they will always remain indispensable for the study of the same. An exhaustive and critical study has been made of the growth of the medieval towns, their character and classification, their administration and pattern of urban society after going through all the available sources.

The foreign records include accounts of contemporary foreign travellers and the correspondence of the employees of the English, French and Dutch East India Companies. In addition to it Factory Records, Court Minutes, and accounts left by missionaries have also been studied. Amongst the early travellers the accounts of missionaries like the Jesuits and other English traders and envoys like Ralph Fitch and Thomas Roe are the most important. These cover the period upon the first half of seventeenth century, while some and later travellers, like Tavernier, Bernier, Manucci and Thevenot were more enterprising than the others, and spent long years in India and acquired firsthand knowledge of many towns and cities.

Going further, a brief introduction to the travellers who visited the country during the Mughal period is given, assorted on the basis of the chronology of their visits.

Early Travellers

DUARTE BARBOSA – Duarte Barbosa was a Portuguese traveller, born in Lisbon in the latter part of the 15th century. He was at the service of the Portuguese government from 1500-1517. He first came to India in 1500 with his uncle who was in the fleet of Pedro Alvarez Cabral.

His travels in India begun with his visit to the Kingdom of Vijayanagar and further extended to Malabar, Gujarat and the east coast of the Indian peninsula from Coromandel to Bengal. The significance of his account is based on his firsthand experiences, his truthfulness and keen observation. His account describes both the political aspects and the social facet of the society.

FATHER MONSERRATE (1580-82) - Father Monserrate was born at Vic de Ozona in 1536. In 1558, he entered into the Society of Jesus and in 1569 became prefect of studies at Lisbon. He embarked for India in 1574 and was elected to accompany Father Acquaviva to Emperor Akbar's Court in 1578 being a part of the first Jesuit mission.

On 4th march, 1580 Father Monserrate reached the Mughal court at Agra. He was even assigned as a tutor to the prince Murad. In February, 1581, Father Monserrate accompanied Emperor Akbar in his march against Mirza Hakim to as far as Peshawar and then proceeded with the Mughal army to Jalalabad. He could not proceed beyond Jalalabad on account of bad health and returned back to Lahore. He has also been a part of the embassy sent to Europe up till Goa in 1582, by Akbar. In 1589, Father Monserrate went ahead to Abyssinia but was taken prisoner by the Arabs near Dhafar and remained in custody at Ainad and later held by the Turks at Sanai. He was freed with help of an Indian merchant and returned to Goa in December 1596. Further his health deteriorated due to all the troubles and he breathed his last in 1600 at Salsette.[1]

Being an eye witness of the reign of Akbar, Father Monserrate's account revolves round the Mughal Court where the access was difficult to a foreigner most of the times. He has keenly observed Akbar's character, and has described every aspect with an extensive understanding of his humor, his grim severity, his munificence, his penuriousness, his keen and critical insight, his credulity, his religious beliefs, superstitions and even the patronage given by the Emperor. In his writing he has also described the prosperous and well settled capital of Akbar's reign; Agra and even the fine buildings at Delhi. In his account detailed information about the Mughal army and the camp, education of prince and princesses, valuable information about several cities such as Surat, Delhi, Lahore, Mandu, Sironj, Gwalior, Narwar, Sonpath and Sarhind can be found.

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1 Monserrate, Father Antonio, *Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius*, ed., John S. Hoyland (trans.) and annotated by S.N. Banerjee, *Commentary of Father Monserrate*, 1922, Asian Publishers, Jalandhar, 1993, p. xi.

RALPH FITCH (1583-91) - Ralph Fitch, a merchant from London, who travelled to India from 1583-91, was the pioneer of English travellers in India. His travelogue on India is of great interest and importance. He was well educated and his accurate description of towns makes his work although more important. He has travelled from Golconda to Fatehpur Sikri. In 1585, he explored eastern India. His travels ranged from Agra to Tanda, Bengal, Allahabad, Banaras, Patna, Hugli and Chittagong. He visited almost the whole northern India, Burhanpur, Cambay, Diu and Goa. He was an acute observer and his account is based on personal experiences and observation. He has described his experiences in a detailed but lucid manner. He has also made a comparative study of the Indian towns and the towns of his native country. In his description, he has mentioned the culture and customs of the cities which he visited or stayed at and its inhabitants, the food, the clothing and the houses. He has also explained about the Indian trade, imports and exports, the means of transport, the various industries and the general economic condition of the people. The account of Ralph Fitch is authentic though argumentative at times.

JOHN MILDENHALL (1599-1606)-He was another Englishman, who visited India to gain advantage of trade for himself and for his countrymen. He travelled across Lahore, Agra and Ajmer. He has also given a brief description of his transitions in India. His account, though short, holds significant value.

WILLIAM HAWKINS (1608-1611)-William Hawkins was a Levantine merchant, well acquainted with Turkish. He was an experienced businessman and navigator. William Hawkins was deputed as representative of James I to the Mughal Emperor Jahangir, for 'soliciting the grant of such liberty of traffic and privileges as shall be reasonable both for their securities and profit.' He left Tilburg as the commander of the Hector on March 12, 1607 on the third voyage of the East India Company. The Hector anchored at the entrance of Tapti River on August 24, 1608, as the first vessel to display the English flag on the coast of India. He reached Agra on April 16, 1609 and was given an audience by the emperor Jahangir. He was successful in pleasing and impressing the Emperor and managed to secure his favour and was even accepted as the resident ambassador and remained at the court with a Mansab of 400 horses.

The accounts of William Hawkins are on the whole reliable and give first-hand information about the country visited by him. He had close contacts with the king, the officials and nobles of court. His account and description of chief cities in

the Mughal empire, the standard of living of the general masses as well as of the upper classes; commerce and trade of the country are interesting and of great importance. A little scrutiny is required to analyze the information provided by him about the political history, state, government and foreign trade. Hawkins, despite his intimate association with Jahangir, did not know that the Mughal Empire had more than five sub-divisions. His story should be read in conjunction with the narrative of William Finch, which supplements it in many ways. He was enterprising and resourceful though Sir Thomas Roe described him as a "vain fool".

THOMAS CORYAT (1612-17) - Thomas Coryat was the first Englishman who travelled through India, with no intention of trade, but was inspired to see this peculiar country and write a book about his experiences. He was the son of a Somersetshire clergyman and was educated at Winchester and Oxford. He earned some reputation as a writer. Before visiting India he had already undertaken a continent tour of France, northern Italy, Switzerland and Germany. In September 1614, he began his great tramp's journey eastwards. He visited Diar Bakr, Habriz, Qazwin, Ispahan, and Qandhar. Near the Indian frontier he met Sir Robert and Lady Shirley. He then parted ways with them and proceeded towards Agra via Multan, Lahore and Delhi. Then he went to Ajmer where the emperor was staying. He reached the chief city of Rajputanah in July 1615. When Sir Thomas Roe came to India, he joined him. He even spent fourteen months at Ajmer. Beyond that, when Roe proceeded to the South, Coryat parted ways and went to Agra, where he arrived on 12 Sept., 1616. Later he joined Roe at Mandu but again parted ways with him, when Roe intended to go to Ahmadabad and instead went to Surat. He remained in Surat in his last days and passed away in December 1617. His keen observations include minute details which other travelers have passed over as unworthy of notice. It is unfortunate that only a few letters written by him from India have survived.

NICHOLAS WITHINGTON (1612-1616)- Withington came to India as an attendant to captain Best, an employee of the East India Company, but at Surat he was taken into the service of the company, due to his linguistic attainments. In the October of 1613, he went to Ahmadabad to assist Aldworth in the purchase of indigo. He further visited Cambay and Sarkhej for more or less the same purpose. In the December of the same year he was sent to Laharibandar where an English ship had arrived. He travelled with some Indian merchants by the way of Radhanpur and Nagar Parker but

in an unfortunate turn of events; he and his companions were captured just before Thatta by a local chief. Barring him, all of the travellers were beheaded and Withington was held captive for quite some time. Later he was sent to Nagar Parker with an escort, where he took help of a merchant from Ahmedabad, whom he had known from earlier. He then reached Ahmedabad in April, 1614.

Further he was sent to Agra, where he arrived on 7 June, 1614. His purpose of visit was "to make an investment in indigo and to report upon the proceedings of John Mildenhall". In 1615, he was accused of defrauding the company and hence was taken prisoner and transported to Ajmer and then later to Surat, where he failed to prove his innocence to the King. In 1616, he was sent back to England where he was arrested again for the same charges. He passed away sometime before April of 1624. He has provided vivid details of the trade and commerce, the trade routes, administration and also offered a description of the cities and the social customs that prevailed there. In his reliable work, he has mentioned everything that he found interesting and essential while dealing with the masses.

SIR THOMAS ROE (1615-1619) - Sir Thomas Roe came to India in 1615, as an ambassador of the James I to the court of Jahangir at instance of the East India Company. Roe's family background and intelligence made him a good combination of shrewdness with readiness of resources and business ability. He obtained experience and culture by a varied training in most favorable circumstances. His education at Oxford and the Inns of Court and made him familiar with the court as well as colleges, with government and diplomacy as well as history and law. In short, he was a man of the Elis Abethan era, fond of politics, pictures and place intimate alike with the archbishop of Canterbury and the chairman of the East India Company. Roe's account is based on his keen observations, and being a good writer he gives a vivid and picturesque description of the things he saw. The account given by him in this journal is both reliable and illuminating. He provides sufficient information about the history of the country, by getting an opportunity of visiting a large number of towns, as he remained with the king and his camp. His travelogue throws much light on commercial conditions and prospects, the description of cities, socio-cultural aspects and other Indian affairs. He describes the chief cities of the Mughal Empire based on his personal experience as well as the information in the royal register. He has provided ample information about the prospect and the relations of trade between

India and Portugal and also India and England. Although reliable, his account should be used carefully in the matters which do not come under the personal observations of Sir Thomas Roe.

EDWARD TERRY (1616-1619) - Edward Terry was born in 1590. He got his education from Rochester school and completed his Masters from Christ Church Oxford.[2] He was also a protestant clergyman of the Church of England. He travelled to India from 1616-1619 as chaplain to the embassy of Sir Thomas Roe as his chaplain had died. He wrote his book after his departure from India. He was much interested in the functioning and procedures different aspects of the country and his description of English India liquor depicts the same. His interest is further evidenced by the fact that although he had no intention of staying in the country, he took pains in acquiring knowledge of the institutions and social conditions of our country.

Terry joined Sir Thomas Roe near Ujjain in February 1617 and accompanied him to Mandu and then went to Ahmadabad, where he remained for about nine months and could only see Gujarat and Malwa. Terry's account is a valuable source of information as he was a good observer and his views were balanced. He was also broadminded enough to appreciate the positive side of the inhabitants. Terry has thoroughly scrutinized the customs and institutions that existed in Mughal India. Amongst other important subjects on which he particularly enlightens us with are; the conditions of the different classes of society including their standards of living, their manners and customs, dress, food, drinks and means of amusement. He also gives an account of the commerce, trade and industries existing in different towns. The accounts of the social and economic life, in general, form an important source of information. Terry made acute and penetrating observations and much valuable information is contained in his account for reconstructing the picture of urban life of Jahangir's India. Despite of the value and authenticity of the work, Terry's writing from the historical point of view, suffers from some defects. Terry's account lacked accuracy like that of his patron Sir Thomas Roe, as when he went beyond his personal observations, he based his account merely on unreliable information. It may not be entirely wrong to say that: his criticism of India's institutions while always fresh and reliable are sometimes highly prejudiced and unjust.

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2 Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 287.

FRANCISCO PELSAERT (1620-1627) - Francisco Pelsaert was a Dutch man from Antwerp[3] and an employee of Dutch East India company. He sailed for the east in 1618 as an assistant in the company's commercial service. In 1620, he was posted in India and reached Agra via Surat, where he remained for about seven years. He was later raised to the position of a senior factor. He returned back to Holland in 1628 and breathed his last in Sept. 1630[4] in Batavia. His work is primarily a commercial document but it also describes the administrative system, the standard of living of the masses, upper classes and the social and religious customs of the people. He gives a vivid description of Agra city and the development of commerce and trade of the different provinces particularly of Ahmedabad, Khambayat, Surat, Broach, Lahore, Burhanpur, Multan and Thatta. His description of various places appears to be based on his personal observations. He visited different towns and examined them minutely. His attainment of the knowledge of local dialects and personal interactions with the people makes the information provided by him first-hand. He is at times prejudiced and exaggerates the deplorable condition of the masses.

JOANNES DE-LAET - Joannes De-Laet, born 1593 in Antwerp, was a Flemish geographer, philologist and a naturalist. He became the Director of the Company of the West Indies in the year 1625 and later on of the Dutch East India Company.[5] It was during his term of office that he gained knowledge of India, by keeping in touch with East Indian affairs and published in 1631 '*De Imperio Magni Mogolis*' or '*The Empire of the Great Mogol*'. De-Laet did not come to India at all and he is primarily a translator and compiler, but his compilations are learned and laborious, faithful and reliable. As a result of De-Laet's position as a director, his interest in the affairs of the east and his friendship with merchants enabled him to obtain quick and truthful information of the happening in India. De-Laet has used the material of Pelsaert[6] and other foreign travellers. His work is a complete gazetteer of Jahangir's India, and gives a detailed and reliable account of the towns, their splendor, administration, trade routes, articles of trade and production, the standard of living of the masses and the upper classes. His account has inaccuracies as well but this is a defect which it shares which all the contemporary account in Indian chronicles too.

3 Fransisco Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India - The Remonstrantie of Fransisco Pelsaert*, p. ix.
4 Ibid., p. x.
5 De Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, p. iii.
6 Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, pp. xii-xiii.

PIETRO DELLA VALLE (1623-1625) - Pietro Della Valle, born in April, 1586, was a gentleman of noble family of Rome with catholic education and convocations. He had no taste for trade or profit of any kind, but visited India out of intelligent curiosity, to grasp the learning of the time and to study the religions of India, with particular reference to finding the similarities in the religions of Egypt and India.

Della Valle visited a large number of towns on the western coast. He deals with the places of business of European traders, foreign factories and the volume of the trade in the country. He also gives a graphic account of the western cities of India particularly of Surat, Ahmadabad, Cambay, Goa and Broach. In addition to it, he also refers to the government policy towards the subject like Hindus, Muslims and foreigners. He was the first traveller who noticed the communal harmony maintained by the Mughal government. For example, Della Valle noticed that in the towns, where Hindus were in majority, the killing of the cows was prohibited there. His account of pattern of urban society, the standard of living, employment conditions and customs and manner of different communities are very authentic. He took pains in depicting the life of the various sections of the society and described them life like. He even participated in processions, feats, celebrations, games and sports of the country. He thoroughly analyzed the conditions of the lower classes, especially of the Indian servants. It is unfortunate that Della Valle's wanderings in India were limited and much of the interior of the country was left out by him.

PETER MUNDY (1628-1634) - Peter Mundy, born at Penryn (c. 1596) began writing and account of his many travels in Europe and Asia as early as the 1620s. He visited India thrice between 1628 and 1656. He served as cabin boy on the merchant ship to Surat and afterwards he was transferred to Agra to join the factory.[7] During his service, he got ample opportunities of travelling widely, through large and small towns of different regions of northern India and western India such as Malwa and Bihar.

The account of Peter Mundy is full of interest, commenting as he documented everything that attracted his attention. Mundy wrote diary every day, thus providing a connected narrative from one place to the other. As has been mentioned, he travelled

7 Peter Mundy, Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia (1608-1667), ed. R. C. Temple (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1914), Vol. II, pp. ix, xx.

widely in the country and as such, he gives a detailed account of the routes, towns and *caravanserais*, which he passed during his journey. His description of Agra, Fathehpur Sikri, Burhanpur, Patna, Banaras, Ajmer and Surat etc. are very valuable. He provides life-like description of the markets, offices, public buildings and houses etc. He gives the best contemporary account of the commerce and industries of different places.

His interactions with the upper classes allowed him to accurately describe their social life. He also gives an account of the administration of the towns. He took much interest in learning the day to day activities of the common man, and of the places which were visited by him. He also describes social and religious customs of the people and also their standard of living. His description of the great famine of 1630 is touching and brings out the sensitive side of him. He gives first-hand information about the produce and manufacture of those commodities which were exported to England. He had personal dealings with the brokers and merchants and narrates their character and dealings in business. One remarkable thing about his writing is that he never indulged in the travellers' tale and if he describes something which he is not an eyewitness of, he obtains sufficient evidence to qualify his statements.

<u>FRAY SEBASTIAN MANRIQUE (1628-1643)</u> - Manrique was a Portuguese missionary who remained in India from 1629 to 1643 on missionary work. Before coming to India, he visited Persia, Mesopotamia, Palestine, China, Philippines and Java, because of which he attained wide experience and ample knowledge. He travelled widely in India and visited Goa, Bengal, Patna, Lahore, Agra, Sindh and Multan. Manrique makes valuable observations about the urban way of life. He has described the political and socio-religious conditions of Bengal. In northern India, he was struck by the richness of the people, the fertility of the soil and the abundance and cheapness of victuals. His account is both interesting and useful. Manrique personally visited a large number of towns in India and tell us about their general appearance, and commerce and industries which flourished there. After visiting the towns of Bengal, he moved on to Patna, from where he travelled by land to Lahore.

Manrique gives a fanciful account of Agra and of other towns in its vicinity. He reached Lahore, after visiting Delhi and passed through Thanesar and Sirhind and then on to Multan and Thatta. He also came into contact with the king, priests, official

and also their womenfolk. Manrique came in a very close contact with Asaf Khan, who was friendly with him. He attended the dinner party which was given by Asaf Khan to Shah Jahan in Lahore. His minute contact of Asaf Khan's dinner party, his wealth and way of living truly reflect the standard of living on the life and conditions of the middle classes and government officials. Manrique's account has few defects, as he seems to be biased against Muslims and speaks of them as barbarians. At times he becomes self-assertive. His descriptions of the license and luxury of the Mughal officers is quite reliable. Although while dealing with historical events which he had little knowledge of, he has mixed facts with fiction.

SIR THOMAS HERBERT (1634 - 1636) – Sir Thomas Herbert was another English traveller who visited India in 1634. Prior to that, he, after studying at Oxford and Trinity College, Cambridge, went to Persia in 1627 as a secretary to an English Embassy. During his stay at India, he visited Surat and its surrounding places.

The major parts of his writing consist of the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir, and he brilliantly covers all the major political events. He has also critically observed some of the social and cultural institutions of the Hindus. Further he has paid attention to the modes of transport and even appreciated the highway from Agra to Lahore. His is one of the lesser known travellers but the information in his account is of considerable value, although there are a few chronological mistakes.

JOHN ALBERT DE MANDELSLO (1638-1639) - Mandelslo was a young German of noble birth and of liberal education. Having parted the company of his friends and the ambassador of the Duke of Holstein to Persia, he arrived at Surat in April 1638, and left India from Surat on 5th of January, 1639.

Mandelslo visited the chief cities of Gujarat like Surat, Ahmadabad, Broach, Baroda and Cambay and also visited the Mughal headquarters at Agra and Lahore. Mandelslo was no scholar, yet his account of his tour in India is full of illuminating observation on the political history, commerce and industry of Gujarat province, its towns and the social and economic conditions of its inhabitants. His account of the cities of Gujarat is based on his personal observation and experiences. He actually passed through the places, which he describes and enjoyed the hospitality of the inhabitants and foreign merchants. The most valuable part of Mandelslo's travels pertains to his tour through Gujarat. Mandelso's account of the visit to the viceroy of

Goa and of the great religious establishments and churches of the Jesuits and of the royal hospital in the city is also first-hand. At some places he has committed factual mistakes, which could have been avoided, though his graphic account of life and standard of living of the governor is very trustworthy and accurate. Mandelslo dined twice with Azam Khan, the governor of Gujarat, and frequently visited him. Thus, he got the opportunity of coming in close contact with the leading men of the province. His account of the wages and prices is based on verbal reports. It seems Mandelslo was much interested in commerce of the country, and so he has written about it in detail. Mandelslo's account is of immense help to us in reconstructing the picture of the urban life of India.

Among the other early travellers to India, may also be mentioned Jones Lancaster, Nicholas Dowton, Bosworth, John Knight, Linschoten, Walter Peyton, Alexandra Childe, Joseph Salbancke Thomas Best, Henry Middleton, Richard Steel, John Crowther, Alexander Sharpey and Thomas Kerridge.

Later Travellers

JOHN BAPTISITE TAVERNIER (1640-1661) - Tavernier, who has been described as the prince of Ramblers is one of the most renowned travellers of the seventeenth century and pioneer jewel merchant who travelled several times in India between 1640 and 1661. Born in 1605 at Paris to and enlightened geographer named Gabriel Tonnelier, Tavernier had seen the best parts of most of the European countries by the age of 21. Before travelling to India, he travelled in different parts of the world, and has visited Constantinople, Persia, Baghdad, Aleppo, Alexandretta and Italy.

Tavernier saw more of India than perhaps any other traveller in the seventeenth century. He studied the various aspects of the towns and has described them at length on the basis of his personal experiences. He was an acute observer and understood the economic conditions of country and the prospects of foreign companies in India.

His account is one of the most important works for the economic history of the period. His observation and judgments, which were confined to matters of commerce, industries and trade, are most reliable. He furnishes us with many details respecting Indian manufactures in different towns and hence is very useful for our subject. Tavernier visited all the important towns of the country like Agra, Delhi, Burhanpur,

Lahore, Surat, Cambay and Dacca. The principal value of the work consist in his observations on the towns and cities, the contemporary condition of the trade, highways, administration of the towns, security of travels and his occasional comments on the social and economic life of the period. His records immensely help us in identifying the small towns and other urban centers which are not otherwise traceable.

His account concerning the frauds, which could be practiced in manufacturing goods, whether by the roguery of the workers or the knavery of the brokers and buyers, and the measures adopted by the government against such practices, is valuable and interesting.

There are some discrepancies in his accounts. His account lacks the systematic arrangement of the subject, correlated chronology and a reconciliation of really apparently contradictory statements. His historical chapters, for instance, may have been derived from Bernier's writings or from conversation with him; and the place he had not himself visited were of course founded on information collected from various sources. But unlike Bernier, he does not attempt to interpret this and rather describes everything as it is.

FRANCOIS BERNIER (1656-1668) - Bernier's account of the East is by far the most popular one amongst of those who have travelled to India during the reign of Shahjahan or Akbar. Born in 1620 in Anjou, Bernier was a trained physician and a man of superior education, with a keen eye for the things which interested him. He was attracted by the desire of seeing the world and thus visited Palestine, Egypt and Syria before coming to India. He travelled out of curiosity, not only with a desire to see towns and countries, but also to know their inhabitants, commerce, trade and industries, administration of the towns, government policy as well as the interest and manners of its people. During his stay in India he visited a large number of towns like Surat, Ahmadabad, Lahore, Kashmir, Agra, Delhi, Raj Mahal, and Kasimbazaar and was an eye witness to many events. Bernier's travels in the Mughal empire (1656-68) is a celebrated work and a first class authority for a study of social life in the second half of the seventeenth century.

Bernier was closely attached to the court and worked in the capacity of a physician under the great Mughals. The description of the towns their administration,

and amenities available in them are the outcome of his personal knowledge. His clear and concise account shows his capacity for observation and of independent judgment. He stayed with Danishmad Khan, a leading Mansabdar at the court and he derived his information from him. In addition to him, he also used French-men, Portuguese, European Merchants, ambassador's counsels and interpreters as his sources of information about the country and its people.

Bernier took pains to compare every custom and institution of France with that of India and labours to prove in every possible way the superiority of the former. Thus, we find that he contradicts himself at several points. Further, on his own admission it is clear that although he tapped many sources to obtain information about the Mughal court, yet his knowledge of facts which he puts forth is not strictly personal. Moreover being a highly educated man he sometimes finds it difficult to separate idealism from reality.

NICCOLAO MANUCCI VENETIAN (1653-1708) - Niccolao Manucci, reached India in 1656 while only 14 years old from Venice, Italy. He is by far the only traveller who has spent a lifetime in India. He was enlisted as an artillery man in the service of the Mughals at eighty rupees per month. He also served Shah Alam. In Agra and Delhi, he gradually adopted medicine as a profession. Manucci possessed working knowledge of Persian and Turki which helped him to understand and express freely. As an historian, Manucci presents us with a vast sphere but which is somewhat a mingled yarn. No doubt, Manucci was not a learned traveller but a self-educated man. He was acute observer and had the advantage of a long and close experience of the country. He visited a large number of towns and travelled through Burhanpur, Handiyah, Sironj, Narwar, Gwalior, Dholpur, Agra and Delhi, and while he was entrusted with an expedition eastwards, he travelled through Patna, Raj Mahal, Dacca, Hugli and Kasimbazar. Regarding towns he gives abundant and varied details. His account is extremely vivacious. Manucci's detailed description of the various towns, about their general appearance, commerce, industry and administration is based on his personal visits, observations and experiences.

Inspite of all this, his account is not free from blunders. His supposed extracts from the Mughal official chronicles, for the reign of Jahangir are a tissue of absurdities. They are distortions of the facts. His anecdotes are based purely on bazaar gossip.

But for the account of the reign of Aurangzeb, Manucci is a writer whose statements cannot be ignored, where they can be verified as historically accurate, and a fair inference is that where he is not contradicted by other contemporary accounts he may be accepted as trustworthy. He is indeed quite honest and particular, as a rout, about the sources of his information. He says "I mean to write without passion, but with all possible exactitude and sincerity". It doesn't mean that what he says must always be believed. He was at times misinformed and prejudiced. His prejudice may be judged from his statement that Indian customs are evils, hateful and abominable. Manucci was in the staff of Prince Dara Shukoh and as such had a strong dislike for Aurangzeb. His account of Indian customs and religion is not entirely accurate. Therefore, his references should be accepted with caution. It seems that in his voluminous narration, he did not forget the interest of the readers and as such at times he is just trying to provide interesting and not accurate information about the country.

STREYNSHAM MASTER (1675-80) – Streynsham Master, born in 1640, was the chief representative of the East India Company's factories on the Coromandel coast and in the Bay of Bengal. Although he sailed to India in 1656, his involvement with the East India Company began in 1660 when he joined the Factory at Surat, where he resided for eleven years till 1672. Again after a gap of three years, in 1675, he was assigned the task to bring order and diligence amidst the chaos in the Factories. The Dairies are chiefly concerned with the internal administration of the company. His account is more valuable for the commercial aspect of the period under review.

JEAN DE THEVENOT (1667) – Thevenot was a French gentleman born in 1633 in Paris. He was a traveller of a far higher stamp. He belonged to the rare company of such travellers, who are seekers of true knowledge through personal experiences and observations. His natural curiosity and not any other monetary reasons drove him to travel to the East. His education and family environment made him a true scholar. Thevenot completed his education at the University of Paris. He was an ardent student of geography, and natural sciences, and had studied the accounts of early travellers and was also influenced to a great extent by his scholarly uncle. Thevenot remained only a year or so in India, but he visited a very large number of town and places, and in such a short stay he studied the life and condition of the people in the country. He throws much light on varied aspects of urban life. Thevenot's narrative shows him to be a thoughtful observer. He had the advantage of securing firsthand information

about India, being conversant in Turkish, Arabic and Persian, and secondly he freely moved among the people. He had the reputation of being a keen observer and an able write. Thevenot, did not confine himself to describing the general condition of the country and its people, but he also took pains to study the various institutions, administration, commerce and industry, which is the most valuable source for the study of urban life of our period. None of the travellers had the scholarship or the critical acumen that Thevenot had. Thevenot has recorded from his personal experience, the roads he traversed, the towns he visited, the men he met, the things he saw, the amenities he enjoyed, the discomforts from which he suffered and the difficulties he encountered. He describes through personal experience the administration of towns and ports, security of life and property and the law and order existing there, which informs us of the practical working of the administrative system of the Mughals. Inspite of his best efforts, his accounts of India suffer from occasional errors.

THOMAS BOWREY (1669-1679) - Thomas Bowrey was independent trader and a sailing master in the east. He remained in the eastern regions of India particularly Bengal from 1669 to 1679. Thomas Bowrey was well educated mass for his time, an acute observer of all that went around him and was deeply interest in the inhabitants of the country. He was well acquainted with the writing of Bernier and with the Mughal history, down to his own time. His book '*A geographical account of countries around the Bay of Bengal*' contains his observations and experience in Bengal. He personally visited Dacca, Cuttack, Hugly, Patna, Kasimbazar, and Balasore, besides other important commercial centers. His account throws much light on the commerce, trade and industries, men and manners of India, and the general appearance of the towns of India in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Many of his observations are of great exceeding interest and unusual value, and a unique contribution to medieval Indian history.

JOHNN MARSHALL (1668-1672) - John Marshall was appointed by the East India Company on 8th January 1668 and he arrived in India on the 3rd of September 1668. He is renowned as being the first Englishman, who really studied Indian antiquities. He was a graduate from Cambridge University and was famous as a writer and traveller. He was selected as a factor, to serve in Bengal by the East India Company. Marshall gives his general impression of Mughal India. Like his contemporary

Thomas Bowrey, and his predecessor Peter Mundy, Marshall was a keen observer, ever on the alert to acquire information. His notes afford valuable details on all kinds of subjects. During his tenure of office in India Marshall made an extensive tour of eastern India and studied there the characteristics of the towns, commerce, industry and the routes which he followed in the course of his journey. His was an enthusiastic enquirer, and his zeal in recording all what he heard on these subjects is amazing. His remarks on the growth of towns and experiences at the customs and octroi posts show his acuteness. Marshall has made no attempt at grouping his subjects systematically, but jotted down his experiences and observation of such things especially impressed him. Some unique pieces of information can be found in his account.

ABBE CARRE (1672-1674) - Abbe Carre, born 1639-40, was a French gentlemen was sent to India on a mission entrusted to him by the French minister Colbert, for the French east India company to support the French trade in India and to watch over the conduct and motions of the English and Dutch, but also to observe his own countrymen. He travelled to India through Syria, Iraq and Persian Gulf, reaching Surat in 1668.

He has been of much help because of his linguistic capabilities. Apparently, he could speak Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Arabic, Persian, and Urdu fluently and must have known some Dutch and English as well.

During his stay in India from 1672-74, Carre visited Goa, Surat, Bombay, Madras, Golconda and Bijapur.

His journal certainly contains many very curious pieces of information. He was an observant traveller like Bernier and Travernier, and showed an interest not only in the country through which he passed, but also in its inhabitants and its history. His journal also contains valuable remarks on the weaknesses of the French administration, compared to those of the Dutch and the English.

JOHN FRYER (1672-1681) - John Fryer, born in 1650 in London, was an eminent surgeon of the East India Company and a member of the Royal College of Physicians. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and obtained the degree of M.B., followed by that of M.D. John Fryer possessed a singularly wide and varied knowledge of different subject and was well versed in the learning of his age. He was especially interested in questions connected with natural sciences. He was connected

with the East India Company, as he was appointed as a surgeon at Surat in the service of the Company. He gives us a valuable narrative of the coastal towns, which he visited in person and displayed much industry in collecting information regarding the social and economic life of the inhabitants. He gives us an excellent account of the foreign factories in India. His account includes a description of the towns, streets, houses, public buildings, markets and the inhabitants of the country. He took particular interest in studying the important industries of the country, and the standard of living of different sections of society. It is true that Dr. John Fryer had no knowledge of the vernacular dialects and as such he was largely dependent upon an interpreter, but inspite of that his account is trustworthy. He was familiar with the work of Herbert, Tavernier and Bernier. John Fryer did not tour the great cities of the interior and as such he has committed mistakes, which is common among his contemporary travellers. His sketches of the austerities practiced by the fakirs, the customs of the people of Surat and the middle class are admirable. He took effort to particularly focus on the scientific acquirements of the people of the East and investigated about their knowledge in medicine and surgery.

<u>WILLIAM HEDGES (1681-1687)</u> - William Hedges, born 21st Oct. 1632, at Coole, Co. Cork was appointed the Governor of the Bay of Bengal and the Factories like Kasimbazar, Pattan, Balasore, Malda, Dacca and Hugly which were subordinate to Bengal. Hedges kept a diary and wrote a day to day account of what interested him. Though his diary includes the period from 1681 to 1688, his account of his stay in office at Bengal from 21st July 1682 to August 30, 1684 is of great importance. In 1684, he was dismissed from his post.

The diary of William Hedges, although strictly business oriented is one of our most valuable sources of information regarding the contemporary events and conditions in Bengal. His observation throws a flood of light on the state of things in the towns of Bengal, the tremendous growth in the Indian industries and the English East India Company's huge investments in textile goods.

His statements enable us to understand the growth and character of the towns. Hedges toured the towns, where the factories of the Companies were located and gathered all sorts of information. He also maintained social interaction with Mughal officers, who furnished him with some firsthand information. He was also in frequent

contact with the Nawab of Dacca, Shaista Khan, who was pretty reluctant to give favours to the Company.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON (1688-1723) - Hamilton carried on freelance trade in the Eastern seas, between 1688 and 1723. He visited India during the reign of Aurangzeb and has, at several places commented upon the laws and customs of the people. He has given a valuable account of the provinces, their wealth, inhabitants, important towns, their trade and commerce. His account of Sindh and Gujarat may be accepted as more trustworthy. His writing although repetitive, corroborates with his contemporaries and earlier travelogues.

JOHN OVINGTON (1689) – John Ovington was born in 1653 at Melsonby, Yorkshire. He was an English clergyman who studied at St. John's College, Cambridge. He came to India in 1689 for a swift visit to Surat and Bombay. His account gives considerable information about the coins minted in India and the kingdom of Persia. He has also provided valuable information on the social customs and rituals of the country. His account though erudite, has a few faults due to his religious prejudice and some strong beliefs.

GIOVANNI FRANCESCO GEMILLI CARERI (1695) - Careri, an Italian doctor, was one of the seasoned European travellers, who visited India in 1695. Careri, a lawyer by profession had attained the highest distinction in the university, where he got the degree of Doctorate of Civil Law. Careri, besides being a man of literary tastes, was also interested in the travelling and by 1683 he made an extensive tour of European countries, and was familiar with the published works of Thevenot. He mostly remained in the coastal towns, like Surat, Cambay and gives detailed account of the commerce and industry of these towns. His account of these towns is based on his personal observations. He has been roundly accused of literary piracy, but it is preposterous to suggest that Careri could produce a work so informative and accurate without personal investigation.

SIR WILLIAM NORRIS (1699-1702) – Born in 1657 at Speke Hall to a royal family, Sir William Norris was sent to India as a representative of both king William III and also of the East India Company. The purpose of his visit was to obtain privileges from the Mughal emperor for the company and promote friendly relationships between the two countries. The reference of his Embassy has been mentioned in the works of

Bernier, Manucci and the diary of William Hedges. The information in his account contains information about the Mughal court, its day to day working and the emperors, which is of significant historical value. He describes the overall Mughal polity, the socio-religious customs and also the economy of the period.

Although, his embassy was considered a failure, yet as a source of information, his account is rich and resourceful and acknowledges almost all the aspects of the society during the period of our study and even surpasses the previous works in terms of the narration. Moreover his impressions about the people were unbiased, unlike a few others who prejudiced on the basis of race or religion.

The travellers as can be understood from their brief introductions, that most of them were educated and had scholarly reputation. Further, many of these travellers had good command over some Asian languages such as Persian, Turkish and Arabic etc. which further helped them to understand the Royal court proceedings as well as in interaction with much of the commoners. This is the reason that their accounts are vivid and full of information.

Factory Records

In addition to the European travellers' accounts, the Factory records of the various Companies trading in the East form a very valuable original source of information for the history of the period of our study. The published records and administrative manuals of the English Company include the Letter Book of the East India Company; Letters Received from the servants, and Calendar of the Court Minutes of the Company. These series cover the period from 1600 to 1708. These letters and records which have been mainly collected by William Foster, deal mainly with the history of Indo-European trade, the commercial transactions of the foreigners in the different towns of the country, the towns which were the principal marts for European trade and the region where different goods were manufactured. These invaluable letters and reports help us in reconstructing the political, commercial and economic life of the country during the seventeenth century.

The Letters of the servants of the Company, though mainly concerned with trade and commerce throw important sidelight on the administration, and social and economic life of the country. The Company's agents and officials had to proceed to important commercial towns for procuring commercial goods and as such they came

in close contact with Indian merchants, artisans and the commercial life of the country. The officials wrote letters about their experiences on various subjects like the condition of the towns from commercial and economic point of view. These letters also contained information concerning the scope of trade in various towns, recommendations for starting new factories, exports and imports, obstacles in their business, while particular attention is paid to information regarding the products and manufactures of India. They also deal with the condition of the artisans, labourers, merchants, brokers and the relations between them; also the administrative and economic policy of the Mughal government and officials. They also give topographical details about many cities of the Mughal Empire and the various roads and means of communication between these cities.

The contemporary Indian accounts

The information on the present subject from the Indian writers is mainly derived from general histories and statistical, administrative and institutional accounts. This information is generally available from the conventional Indo-Persian histories and from administrative manuals and records. In addition, autobiographies, biographies, topographical accounts, archaeological survey reports, gazetteers and other material have also been fully utilized.

Most of the Indian Historians recorded political events centered on the kings, nobles and the high officials of state. Persian chronicles, are mainly concerned, excepting a few, with wars, conquests, revolts, intrigues and palace revolutions. We find accounts in these chronicles of the magnificent ceremonial observances of the court, the jewels, swords, drums, standards, elephants and horses bestowed upon the dignitaries of the empire and the extravagant but spectacular life of the upper classes. The Indian writers seldom record the condition of the society, its conventional usages or the recognized privileges of different sections, its constituent elements and their mutual relations. They are equally deficient in observations regarding commerce, industries, police, security of life and property, civic amenities, local administration and such other subjects of importance. Inspite of the paucity of material relevant to our inquiry these chronicles yield much valuable information. The general histories, which have been utilized in this work, are *Barur-Nama*, *Humayun-Nama*, *Akbar-*

Nama, Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Muntakhib-ut-Tawarikh and *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri.*

Amongst other sources may be mentioned the invaluable *A'in-i-Akbari, Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh, Chahar Gulshan, Mir'at-i-Ahmadi* (supplement) etc. The most useful source for our study is the *A'in-i-Akbari*, which is a mine of a vast variety of information and contains the most systematic account of the towns, their character, growth, trade and industries, and their administration. *A'in-i-Akbari* is one of the greatest works and stands unique amongst the Muhammadan histories of India.

The *Chahar-Gulshan*, an important source used in this work was written by Ray Chaturman Kayasth, which was completed in 1759-60. The last portion of the book was completed by his grandson Chandar-Bhan Munshi Kayasth Saksena, surnamed Ray-Zadah. It consists of the history and topography of India to A.H. 1173/ 1759-60 in four *Gulshans*. (i) the subaha (provinces) of Hindustan, (ii) the *subahs* of the Deccan, (iii) routes from Delhi to various parts of India, and (iv) Muslim and Hindu saints. A portion of this work was translated and annotated by Jadunath Sarkar in his book *'The India of Aurangzeb'*.

Modern Works

There is no scarcity of scholarly studies on the urban life as depicted in European travellers' accounts for the period under review. The present thesis as proposes to study the Travellers' accounts and the depiction of urban life of Mughal India during the 16th and seventeenth century for which the work of M. A. Ansari's, *'European Travels under the Mughals '* and Meera Nanda's entitled *'European Travel Accounts During the Reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb'* are augmented sources of information but focuses largely on the aspect of Indian life for the period of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb only. K.M. Ashraf made a serious effort to study the social life of the common people in Mughal India in his work *'life and condition of the people of Hindustan'*. Hamida Khatoon Naqvi's work on the *'urbanization and urban centres under the great Mughals (1556-1707)'*, I. P. Gupta's, *'Urbanization in Gujarat during seventeenth century'* and J. S. Grewal and Indu Banga's, *'Studies in Urban History'* have initiated the work in the discipline. These were the welcome efforts, aimed at moving the direction of Indian history away from the rulers and ruling classes.

Other related important works are E. F. Oaten's, *'European Travellers in India'*, R. Nath's, *'India as seen by William Finch'*, M.H. Fisher's, *'Vision of Mughal India: 'An Anthology of European Travel Writing'*, Paul Kegaum's, *'European Travellers in India during 15th, 16th and seventeenth Centuries'*, P. K. Nayar's, *'The "Discourse of Difficulty" English Writing and India, 1000-1720'*, M. L. Pratt's, *'Imperial Eyes Travel Writing and Transculturation'*, K. Teltcher's, *'India Inscribed, European and British Writing On India, 1600-1800'*, H.K. Kaul's, *'Travellers' India: An Anthology'*, etc.

Chapter I

Emergence of Towns and their Urban Landscape

As we study the Emergence and origin of the medieval Indian towns, we get to know that there were several reasons and factors to establish a town or a city such as, strategic location and importance, commercial or industrial factors, military importance, administrative requirement, feasibility of communication and transportation etc.

The medieval Indian towns had an arch type which was based on the requirement of defence and security. Towns were usually developed on the bank of a river or on high ground. The towns located on the bank of a river involved in an oblong and semi-circular shape.[1] The reason to choose a river nearby the location of a town was, first to ensure affluence of water supply, second as a defensive barricade,[2] a cooling influence during summer[3] and a means for transportation.[4] For example, the cities of north, north-western and eastern region, as well as of western region were laid out along the bank of rivers. The rivers generally served the purpose of an outer defense perimeter protecting the entrances of the towns. Further a site near a river was chosen to aid water supply. Cities like Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Multan, Thatta, Patna, Dacca, Allahabad, Benaras, Ahmadabad, Surat, Baroda, Broach and Burhanpur were all located near a river.

Another advantage of choosing the site of a town along the banks of a river was the fertile land available in the neighbouring areas, which assured supply of food grains to the city. In general, we find medieval Indian towns in low lying plains, where agriculture flourished widely and communication was easy. A detailed study of the location of the minor towns too, reveals that these cities grew up in the midst of easily irrigable regions.

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1 William Finch, *Hakluyts Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Samuel Purchas, London, 1625; pub. James MacLehose, Glasgow, 20 Vols., 1905,Vol. IV, p. 72, He mentions that, Agra was situated in a great open plain on the bank of river Jamuna winding from north to south and south east dividing the city in two parts. It made the city of a semi-circular shape.; Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor*, Indian Texts Series, translated by William Irvine, in Four Vols., London, 1907, Vol. I, pp. 183-84, Speaking about Delhi, 'Delhi was situated in a large plain of great circumference and it was in the shape of an imperfect half-moon'.; Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, 1656-1668, translated and annotated by A. Constable, 2nd edition, revised by V.A. Smith, Oxford University press, London, 1992, p. 241, Describing about Delhi, it was in the 'form of a crescent.'

2 Fray Sebastien Manrique, *Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique* , trans. C.E. Luard assisted by H. Hosten, 2 Vols., Hakluyt Society, London, 1927, Vol. II, p. 191.

3 *Ibid.*

4 Jean De Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, edited by Surendranath Sen, New Delhi, 1949, p. 57.

A very large number of towns were founded because of their commercial importance, or because of particular trades or crafts which flourished there. Foreign Factories were established in many towns which originated due to commercial reasons. The commercial towns were located in places which provided facilities for marketing the goods and were easily accessible from important places and afforded easy communication by land and rivers. Caravans from different regions visited these places as they were the market centres for different commodities and became the home towns of rich and enterprising merchants. Towns like Multan, Lahore, Thatta and Dacca, apart from their strategic and administrative importance were also important from the commercial point of view. A few important towns of the Mughal India were Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Patna, Ahmadabad, Multan and Banaras. The origin and emergence of these towns has been attempted as follows.

Agra

Agra was originally a village, a dependency of *parganah* of Bayana. Emperor Sikandar Lodi (1488-1516) considering it to be a pleasant place made it the capital during his reign and founded a worthy city. After that the town was known as Badalgarh. Subsequently, Emperor Akbar regarding it as the center of the protected empire, laid the foundation of a stone fort of perfect strength; and a town of unparalleled spaciousness and extent became inhabited under the name of Akbarabad. The water of the Jamna flows through the middle of the town for 4 kos; and on both sides lofty buildings and charming villas have been built.[5] The Agra of the Lodis lay on the left bank of the river, while Akbar's city was on the right river bank.[6] Sultan Sikandar Lodhi realized the strategic and administrative importance of the place. Niamatullah, the author of *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, says, "It had for a long time occurred to the sultan to found a town on the bank of Jamuna, which was to be the residence of the sultan, and the headquarters of a army, and to serve to keep the rebels of that quarter in awe".[7] Under Babar, Humayun and Shershah it continued to be the seat of government. Akbar built a fort there and it was, in his time that Agra enjoyed a distinguished place in the empire and became the capital of the Mughals. The city was

5 *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh, India of Aurangzib (Topography, Statistics and Roads) compared with the India of Akbar*, translated and annotated by Jadunath Sarkar, Patna, 1901, p. 23.

6 Abul Fazl, *A'in-i-Akbari*, translated into English in Three Vols., by H.S. Warrett, Vol. II, revised by Jadunath Sarkar, Calcutta, 1891, p. 180 fn.

7 Niyamatullah, *Makhzan-i-Afghani or Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahan-Lodi*, Extracts translated by Elliot and Dowson, Vol. V, p. 98.

situated in the heart of the empire, and was easily accessible from all directions.[8] Due to its location it became the most convenient base of supplies for operations against the Rajputana and the kingdoms of Ahmadnagar and Gujarat.[9]

Delhi

In the ancient times, Delhi served as the capital of the Pandu and Kuru kings, named as Hastinapur, on the bank of the river Ganges. Pandu migrated from the city of Hastinapur to Indraprastha, on the banks of the river Jamna, and made it their capital. After a long period, in the year 440 of Vikramajit (383 A.D.), Raja Anangpal Tomar founded the city of Delhi near Indraprastha. After that, Rai Pithora, in the Year I200, build a fort and town after his own name. Sultan Qutub-ud-din Aibak captured Delhi, and after his death in 1210 A.D., it became the capital of the sultanate and continued to enjoy that position till the time of the Lodis.[10]

Delhi saw several changes in its location.[11] The Emperor Nasir-ud-din Muhammad Humayun rebuilt Indrprashtha in 1531 A.D., renamed it as Dinpanah and made it his capital.[12] In spite of its bereaved position for over a century, the sources of later 16th and 17th centuries reveal that it was still a very great and very rich city. The Mughal emperors who loved Delhi kept his forts and city in general in good repair.[13]

One of the key transformations of the city happened when Emperor Shah Jahan in I638 transferred his capital here. Once more, a new site was chosen on the west bank of Jamuna and the new city that grew up was named Jahanabad or Shahjahanabad.[14]

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8 William Hawkins, *Early Travels in India*, 1583-1619, edited by W. Foster, reprinted, Bombay, 1968, p.100; Terry, *Purchas*, Vol. IX, p.15; Thomas Roe, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 432; Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* translated to English by Alexander Rogers, edited by Henry Beveridge in Two Vols., London, 1909-1914, Delhi, 1989, Vol. II, p. 100.

9 Jadunath Sarkar, *India of Aurangzeb, (Topography, Statistics, and Roads)*, compared with the India of Akbar, with extracts from *The Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* and *The Chahar Gulshan*, trans. and annotated by Jadunath Sarkar, 1964, p. xiii; Niyamatullah, *Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahan-Lodi*, Vol. V, p.98.

10 *K.T.*, pp. 1-2.

11 *A'in*, Vol. II, pp. 278-79.

12 *Ibid.*

13 John Jourdain, *The Journal of Jourdain, Describing His Experiences in Arabia, India and The Malay Archipelago*, edited by W. Foster, Hakluyt Society, Cambridge, 1905, p. 164.

14 Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, translated on the basis of Irving's Brock's version and annotated by Archibald Constable, Originally published by Oxford University Press, London, 1934, 2nd Indian edition revised by Vincent A. Smith, New Delhi, 1992, p. 241; Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, translated by V. Ball, 2nd edition revised by W. Crooke, in Two Vols., London, 1925, Vol. I, p. 96; *K.T.*, p. 3; Niccolao Manucci, *Storia, Storia Do Mogoror Mogul India*, trans. William Irvine, 4 Vols., Indian Text Series, London, 1907, Vol. I, p. 183, says, 'built by Shahjahan'.

The site of Delhi had strategic importance. The Aravalli hills and their ranges run north and south of Delhi, providing a suitable defence to it. In choosing the site, security from invaders was the chief consideration.

Lahore

Lahore, situated on the eastern limit of the Ghaznivid dominion, was developed from a village into a camp town by Malik Khas (Malik Ayaz)[15], the favourite of Mahmud of Gazni (Ghazni). He defended it by a fort and it again became a capital and remained so under the last two Ghaznivid kings.[16] Constant dangers and frequent inroads of the Mongols from the North-west during the 13th and early 14th centuries further emphasized its strategic importance.

Under Tatar Khan, a noble of Bahlol Lodi, Lahore was again established as the seat of government.[17] Lahore, by the middle of the 16th century, had assumed the position and character of a first-rate city in the realm.

The strategic importance of the city once again came into focus when the Emperor Akbar, owing to the apprehension of an attack from 'Abdullah Khan of Bukhara'[18], shifted his residence with his court and camp to Lahore in 1584. The Emperor stayed on at Lahore till the news of the Khan's death in 1598 had been duly received.[19] These fifteen years of imperial residence benefited Lahore greatly. Subsequently, it was repaired and enlarged by Akbar and Jahangir, who particularly loved it and increased its beauty and importance in various ways.[20] Thus, the early seventeenth century authorities, in addition to extolling its populousness and extent, regarded it as the greatest city of the east[21], surpassing even Constantinople[22]. The location of Lahore on the junction of trade routes made it a commercial town of great importance. It was connected by great roadways and waterways with important towns, like Agra, Delhi, Multan, Thatta, Kabul and Kashmir.[23] It was an old and flourishing

15 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, pp. 137, 184-85, 424.
16 *K.T.*, p. XXIV.
17 *Ibid.*
18 Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, translated into English by H. Beveridge in Three Vols., Calcutta, 1903-10, Vol. III, pp. 748, 1102.
19 *Ibid.*, p. 1102,
20 *K.T.*, p. XXIV.
21 William Finch, *Early Travels in India 1583-1619*, ed., William Foster, reprinted, Oxford university press, Bombay, 1968, p. 161.
22 Thomas Coryat, *Early Travels*, p. 243.
23 William Finch, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 57; *English Factories in India*, (1618-1669), edited by W. Foster in 13 Vols., Oxford, 1906-27, (1637-41), p. 135.

centre of commerce.[24] Many merchants lived there[25] and the place was an emporium for goods of import and export.[26]

Thus, Lahore became a great centre of commerce and the Indian merchants who wanted to go to foreign countries assembled there and organised the caravans for Kandhar and Persia.[27] The river Ravi, connected it with Multan, Bhakkar and Thatta, i.e. the entire region of Multan and Sindh was covered by these rivers, which were navigable and the boats plied between Lahore and Thatta.[28] As Pelsaert says, "River Ravi flows past the city, which flows by Multan, Thatta and Buckkar, carrying a large trade in shallow draught vessels".[29] Goods then were exported from Thatta to Ormuz and Persia by the sea.[30]

Ahmadabad

On the 14th of the holy month of *Ramzan*, A.H. 813 (A.D. 1410-11), the city of Ahmadabad was founded by Sultan Ahmad Shah, the grandson of Muzzafar Shah and son of Muhammad shah of Gujarat, which was located near the old town of Asawal on the bank of the Sabarmati.[31] He also made it his capital. The establishment included a strong fort, new houses and a spacious town.[32] The epicentre of the city was the palace and various merchants settled around it, they were especially dealers of arms and manufacturers of luxurious items. It grew up into a large town, as he reigned for 32 years and 6 months. "It has two forts outside of which are 360 quarters of a special kind which they called *pura*, in which all the requisites of a city are to be found".[33] From the reign of Ahmad Shah (1411-42) to Bahadur Shah (1526-37), the last great independent Sultan of Gujrat, more than three generations of rulers

24 Francisco Pelsaert, *Remonstrantie*, c. 1626, *Jahangir's India*, translated into English by W.H. Moreland and P. Geyl, Cambridge, 1925, p. 30; Monserrate, *Commentary on his Journey to the Court of Akbar*, translated by J.S. Hoyland and annotated by S.N. Banerjee, Cuttack, 1922, p. 159; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 186.

25 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 186, According to him the great and rich merchants were settled there; *A.N.*, Vol. II, p. 80.

26 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 424; Richard Steel and John Crowther, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, pp. 268-69; Finch, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 57; *E.F.I.*, (1637-41), p. 135.

27 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 186, According to him, "it was the key to the kingdom of Kabul, Balkh, Tartar, Kashmir, Persia, Baloches, Multan, Bhakkar and Thatta".; Richard Steel and John Crowther, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 268.

28 Finch, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 52.

29 Pelsaert, pp. 30-31; Thomas Roe, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 440.

30 Richard Steel and John Crowther, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 268.

31 Ali Muhammad Khan, *Mir'at-i-Ahmadi*, (Suppl.), ed. Syed Nawab Ali and C.N. Seddon, Baroda, 1928, pp. 1-2; S.C. Misra, *The Rise of Muslim Power in Gujarat*, Bombay, 1963, p. 220.

32 *K.T.*, p. 61.

33 *Mir'at-i-Ahmadi*, (Suppl.), p. 7.

beautified the city with imposing mosques, palaces and market places. The city was briefly annexed by the Mughal Emperor Humayun (1530-40), but It was only in the reign of Akbar (1556-1605), that it became a part of the Mughal Empire in 1572, during Akbar's campaigns in Gujarat. It was the administrative headquarters of the *Sarkar* (division) of the same name and to capital of the *subah* (Province) of Gujarat.[34]

Allahabad

It was anciently named Prayag and also Tribeni. The Emperor Akbar, having built between the river Ganges and Jamna a strong fort and excellent mansions, founded a city and named it Illahabas. But the Emperor Shah Jahan, in his own reign gave it the name of Allahabad. The rivers Ganges and Jamna mingle together at the foot of the fort.[35] About Allahabad Abul Fazl says, "for a long time his (Akbar) desire was to found a great city in the town of Piyag (Priyag)..., and to build a choice fort there. His idea was to establish himself there for a time and to reduce to obedience of the recalcitrant ones of the country".[36] Thus, Allahabad had its administrative and military importance and Hindus regards this place as a very ancient and one of the most holy places of worship.[37]

Multan

Multan was an old commercial centre. Here Indian and foreign merchants settled and goods were imported from distant places and stocked.[38] A large number of Caravans used to visit this place.[39] The custom houses were established and duties were levied on exports and imports.[40] Multan was the meeting place of all the Caravans from the neighbouring countries, coming from Persia, Khorasan and from other distant kingdoms from here caravans went to other parts of the county. Its location on the junction of a trade route[41], made it a great distributing and transport

34 *K.T.*, p. 61.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 27; *A'in*, Vol. II, p. 169, Abul Fazl mentions Saraswati also, though the latter is not visible.

36 *A.N.*, Vol. III, p. 616.

37 *K.T.*, p. 27; *A'in*, Vol. II, p. 169.

38 Fray Sebastien Manrique, *Travels of Fray Sebastien Manrique*, translatd by Eckford Luard, assisted by Hosten in Two Vols., Hakluyt Society, 1927, Vol. II, pp. 221-22; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 77; *K.T.*, p. 72.

39 Manrique, Vol. II, pp. 221-22.

40 *E.F.I.* (1637-41), p. 135.

41 Manrique, Vol. II, pp. 221-22; Richard Steel and John Crowther, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 269.

centre. It commanded the routes to Persia by way of Kandhar and to other provinces and regions of India.[42] Multan was conveniently served by three rivers: Ravi, Jhelum and Indus and was thus connected with Sindh.[43] The trade therefore became extensive.[44]

A large number of towns were founded at places, connected with a flourishing industry. These manufacturing towns grew as a result of the following factors: availability of raw materials, mineral deposits, local skills and facilities for marketing in the neighbouring areas. Towns like Ahmadabad, Lahore, Thatta, Dacca and Burhanpur may be included in the category of manufacturing centres, which afterwards became Industrial centres. In Lahore, skillful craftsmen of all sorts were available. In Thatta, there were about three thousand families of weavers, who manufactured different sorts of cloth.[45] It also had Iron mines.[46]

In Bengal and Gujarat, numerous towns were founded where raw material and cheap and local skilled labour was available. A large number of textile manufacturing towns developed in eastern region, due to the fact that raw cotton[47] and silk[48] were available in abundance in the vicinity. According to English factory records, in Murshidabad innumerable experts and cheap silk winders could be found[49] which made it the chief silk manufacturing centre.

The towns of Gujarat emerged as textile manufacturing centre due to the fact that cotton (both spun and unspun) was produced there.[50] Cotton was also available in the region of Sindh and hence textile industries flourished there.

Some towns were founded to remember and honour the name of some important saint or some important event. Fatehpur-Sikri was founded to

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42 Pelseart, p. 31; John De Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, tanslated into English by J.S. Hoyland and annotated by S.N. Banerji, Bombay, 1928, p. 78; *E.F.I.* (1637-41), p. 135.

43 Pelseart, p. 31; *E.F.I.*, (1637-41), p. 135.

44 Pelseart, p. 31

45 *E.F.I.* (1634-36), p. 128.

46 *K.T.*, p. 68; *A'in*, Vol. II, p. 339.

47 Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia*, edited by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Vol. II, entitled '*Travels in Asia*' Hakluyt Society, London, 1914, Vol. II, p. 134.

48 Pelsaert, p. 7, According to him Patna yielded one thousand to two thousand *maunds* of silk. ; Peter Mundy Vol. II, p. 156.

49 *E.F.I.*, (1618-21), pp. 229-30.

50 Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 8; Pelsaert, p. 9, According to him, cotton was grown between Surat and Burhanpur.; John Albert de Mandelslo, *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India*, edited by M.S. Commissariat, Oxford university press, London, 1931, New Delhi, 1995, p. 15, According to him, cotton was produced in abundance in the vicinity of Baroch.; Joseph Salbancke, *Purchas*, Vol. III, p. 82.

commemorate the name of sheikh Salim Chisti and Burhanpur by Nasir khan, an independent prince of the Faruki dynasty of Khandesh to commemorate the name of the Famous sheikh Burahanuddin, but it came into eminence only when the Mughals used it as their seat of government.

Rise and Expansion of the Towns

The trending urbanisation during the Mughal period resulted in the emergence of a large number of new towns and their continuous growth and expansion. Villages expanded into towns and a number of small towns rose as centres of trade, industries and in some cases, as centres of administration. The provinces of Delhi, Bengal, Gujarat and Punjab could boast of large cities from Kabul to Lahore, and Lahore to Multan and Thatta, and to Agra, then to the eastern region and down to the provinces of Gujarat and Malwa, one comes across large towns and cities. A large number of towns of Bengal and Gujarat trace their origin to this period. According to Pelsaert, "the eastern part of the country extended to Jagannathpuri, which cover a distance of 600 kos, contained many large cites".[51] Similarly, Ralph Fitch passed many fair towns on his way from Benaras to Patna.[52] According to Manrique, the route from Benaras to Patna was, "...studded with habitations of large towns...".[53] Further, according to Thevenot, the country of Bengal was full of towns.[54] Also, province of Agra had many flourishing cities.[55] Thevenot also mentions that the province of Gujarat had quite a large number of important towns.[56]

The European travellers have made at several occasions, comparisons of the Indian towns with the European towns of great importance and prosperity such as London, Paris, Constantinople or Amsterdam as these were the greatest cities known to them. The reason behind this comparison was the immense growth of the Indian towns. All the major towns in India were large, prosperous and significant in their size, extent, population, trade, commerce and industries. The most flourishing cities according to the European travellers were Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Multan, Ahmadabad, Surat, Cambay, Baroch, Thatta, Benaras, Allahbad, Patna, Dacca, Hugli, Chittagaon,

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51 Pelsaert, p. 6.
52 Fitch, *Purchas*, Vol. X, p. 180.
53 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 146.
54 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 96.
55 Pelsaert, p. 44; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 46, He mentions that, the province of Agra had above 40 towns within its limits.
56 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 44.

Kasimbazar, Murshidabad and Burhanpur. Ralph Fitch observed that, "Agra and Fatehpur are two very populous towns".[57] Agra in the early seventeenth century according to Salbancke was "as great as London, and every populous".[58] "Delhi was as great as Paris".[59] Ahmadabad was "near as great as London".[60] Lahore was a very large and populous city and there was no city as great as Lahore, either in Asia or Europe with regard to size, population and wealth.[61] Shahzadpur, a great and populous place was compared with Constantinople.[62] Fatehpur Sikri, according to Ralph Fitch, was much bigger than London.[63] Agra, was "a town of unparalleled spaciousness and extent...travellers have been few such strong forts or large towns...and man of every rare and country live in it".[64] It (Agra) was "spacious large, populous beyond measure, that you can hardly pass in the streets".[65]

The rapid expansion of the cities and the rise of the suburban areas led to overcrowding of such places and consequently the expansion that took place was asymmetric and unsystematic. The expansion in the early phase did not properly define the towns on basis of industrial, commercial or residential areas. Gradually, the separate laying out of the commercial quarters swallowed villages in the proximity, while a new suburban area was established on the outskirts of the city. The expanded city grew outside the city walls and gates. During the reign of Jahangir, says Pelsaert, "the gates which Akbar built for its security, now stand in the middle of the city and the area of the buildings outside them is fully three times greater in extent".[66] Similarly the residences of nobles, which were situated outside the main city in the time of Akbar, were merged into the city in the time of Jahangir. Pelsaert further mentions that, "There are indeed many places belonging to great princess and lords,

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57 Ralph Fitch, *The First Englishmen in India: Letters and Narratives of Sundry Elizabethans Written by Themselves*, ed. by J. Courtenay Locke, London, 1930, p. 103.

58 Salbancke, *Purchas*, Vol. III, p. 84, According to him, beside Fatehpur, Agra and Lahore, there were many other important cities in the kingdom.

59 Bernier, p. 282.

60 Withington, *Extracts of a tractate written by Nicholas Withington, Purchas His Pilgrims*, Vol. IV, p. 167; De Laet, p. 19; *Letter Received*, Vol. I, p. 305, According to it Ahmedabad was 'as big as the city of London'.

61 Monserrate, *Commentary*, p. 159.

62 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 98.

63 Fitch, *The first Englishmen in India*, p. 103; Monserrate, *Commentary*, p. 30, He mentions, "It stretched 100 miles westward towards Azmiris".; *A'in*, Vol. II, p. 191, According to Abul Fazl, "It rose to be a city of the first importance".

64 *K.T.*, p. 23.

65 Finch, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 72; De Laet, p. 37.

66 Pelsaert, pp. 1, 2.

but they are hidden away in alleys and corners. This is due to the sudden growth of the city".[67]

The rise and expansion of the city of Agra can be roughly assessed from the accounts of Ralph Fitch, who says, "Between Agra and Fatehpur are twelve miles, and all the way is a market of victuals and other things as full as though a man were still in a town and so many people as if a man were in market".[68] Similarly, the road from Agra to Sikandara was densely occupied with various buildings on both sides of the road up to a distance of about 5 miles. Sikandra even became a part of the city during Akbar's reign. Further, even when Agra ceased to be the capital of the empire, there was no sign of its decline. The European travellers who visited Agra during the latter part of the seventeenth century were struck by its size and prosperity. The city further expanded under the reign of Jahangir. As mentioned in *Tuzuk*, "In the number of its buildings it is equal to several cities of Iraq, Khurasan, and Mawarannahr (Transoxonia) put together. Many persons have erected buildings of three or four storeys in it. The mass of the people is so great that moving about in the lanes and *bazars* is difficult...".[69]

Delhi's rise and prosperity can be estimated by the description in *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, which says, "It is a city of perfect spaciousness and extent, a capital city and the centre of the kingdom, traveller of the seven climates and tourists of the habitable world cannot point out any other town on the surface of the earth so spacious or so largely populated. The city of Stamboul (Constantinople) the capital of the sultan of Roum, which is famous for its largeness and extent, is not a tenth part of this city. The cities of Kazwin and Isfahan, the capitals of the Shah of Persia, which are famous for excellence and beauty, do not come up to even a single quarter of this city".[70] The author further speaking about the size and population of the city, says, "A wall of stone and mortar encloses the city. Its circumference is more than the imagination can comprehend; and the population within and around it is beyond the range of description. The men of Roum (Turkey), Zanzibar, and Syria, the English, the Dutch, the men of Yemen, Arabia, Iraq, Khorasan, Khwarizm, Turkistan, Kabul, Zabulistan, Cathay, Khotan, China, Machin, Kashghar, Qalmaqistan, Tibet and

67 Pelsaert, p. 1.
68 Fitch, *The first Englishmen in India*, p. 103.
69 *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, p. 3, He further mentions that it was closely built and inhabited.
70 *K.T.*, p. 8-9, On the same theme the text breaks into poetry in praise of the city. "It is a great city, exactly like heaven, the centre of India, and the capital of kings".

Kashmir and other provinces of Hindustan have chosen their abode in this large city...".[71]

Similar to other towns, the city of Delhi encircled the fort and the royal square as it expanded.[72] People from the remote regions were drawn towards Delhi because of the prospect of employment, trade, pleasure, and curiosity making the population of the city cosmopolitan in nature. A large number of extensive suburbs, and buildings on both sides of the roads were developing rapidly.[73]

The greatness of Lahore was mentioned by many European travellers and contemporary writers. Father Monserrate stated that Lahore "not second to any city in Europe or Asia".[74] He further mentions about its population and says, "The population is so large that men jostle each other in the streets".[75] William Finch calls it as "one of the greatest cities of the east"[76] and according to Richard Steel and John Crowther, "Lahore is a goodly great citie and one of the fairest and ancients of India".[77] Manrique, who visited Lahore in the reign of Shahjahan, calls it as the second famous city[78] of the Mughal Empire. The author of *Khulasat* mentions that, "Jahangir built lofty mansions which are still extent; and his good fortune became for a time the means of its increased by the abodes of princes and high grandees. In the time of the Emperor Shahjahan, the population increased daily...".[79] He further mentions, "It is undoubtedly a large city and a big town. Few towns can be pointed out that resemble it in extent of habitation and largeness of population".[80] As mentioned in *A'in*, Lahore is "beyond measure remarkable in populousness and extent".[81] According to Jahangir, it was "one of the greatest place in Hindustan...".[82]

Ahmadabad, as mentioned in *A'in-i-Akbari* was "a noble city in a high state of prosperity...".[83] Terry describes it as one of the "most spacious and rich citie".[84]

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71 *K.T.*, p. 5.
72 Bernier, p. 343; Thevenot, p. 59.
73 Bernier, pp. 241, 242.
74 Monserrate, *Commentary*, p. 159.
75 *Ibid.*
76 Finch, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 52.
77 Richard Steel and John Crowther, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 268.
78 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 191.
79 *K.T.*, pp. 80-81; Finch, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 52; Thevenot, p. 85; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 186; Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 94-95.
80 *K.T.*, p. 81.
81 *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 317, He also mention it to be the first city in size and population. ; *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 80.
82 *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, p. 63.
83 *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 247.
84 Terry, *Purchas*, Vol. IX, p. 21.

According to Mandelslo it was "a great and populous city".[85] According to the author of the *Haft Iqlim*, "Ahmadabad is a unique in the matter of neatness, thriving population and beautiful buildings and it would be no exaggeration to say that so grand and magnificent a city is to be found nowhere else. Bazars are spacious and well arranged....and in truth a city with such beauties is rare; whence it has been called the bride of the kingdom".[86]

Sultan Mahmud II, built a new city, named Mahmudabad in his reign, 12 *kos* from Ahmadabad and made it his capital. Further, the road from Ahmadabad was covered by markets and houses of people on both sides, so that the two cities appears one and in due course of time artisans and craftsmen settled there.[87] Due to this reason these cities were even referred to as the twin-cities. *A'in-i-Akbari* and *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* refer to the 360 or 380 quarters and wards of the city.[88] Mandelslo mentions about the large suburbs in the city.[89] Several mosques and markets densely occupied the city.[90] Ahmadabad developed so much that it had 25 great towns under its jurisdiction.[91]

Surat grew and expanded as it became an emporium of foreign trade. According to Della Valle, "it is very populous, as all other cities and places are in India; which everywhere abounds with people".[92] The prosperity of Surat can be judged by the fact that when Shivaji attacked Surat, he, as mentioned by Bernier, "...returned laden with gold and silver to the amount of several millions, with pearls silken stuffs, fine clothes and variety of other costly merchandise".[93] An English Factor mentions about the same attack that, "its, 3,000 houses were burnt by Shivaji".[94] This led to the over crowdedness of the city, thus Thevenot rightly mentions that, "lodgings can hardly be had, and the three suburbs are all full".[95]

Patna, like its peer towns, was also a very large and great town.[96] Manrique has described Patna as one of the biggest towns in the whole Mughal

85 Mandelslo, p. 26.
86 *Mir'at*, (Suppl.), p. 7.
87 *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 16; Thevenot, p. 11; Mandelslo, p. 22, who refers to the expansions of the city.
88 *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 247; *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 11; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, (Suppl.), pp. 7, 10, 11.
89 Mandelslo, p. 26.
90 *Mir'at-i-Ahmadi*, (Suppl.), p. 7; *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 247; *K.T.*, p. 61.
91 Mandelslo, p. 28.
92 Pietro Della Valle, *The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India*, trans. Edward Grey, Hakluyt Society, 2 Vols., London, 1892, Vol. I, p. 30.
93 Bernier, p. 188.
94 *E.F.R.*, (1661-1664), pp. 306-307; Finch, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, pp. 27-28; Mandelslo, p. 8.
95 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 21.
96 Fitch, *The first Englishmen in India*, p. 113.

Empire.[97] Several other European Travellers such Tavernier[98], Manucci[99], Thevenot[100], Peter Mundy[101] and Bowrey[102] who visited it in the latter half of the seventeenth century have mentioned about the prosperity, growth and size of the city of Patna.

Dacca, as mentioned by some European travellers was the largest town in Bengal.[103] The author of *Khulasat*, giving a vivid description of the town says, "Dhaka (Dacca) or Jahangir-nagar, which is very spacious. It is beautifully and elegantly inhabited for some *kos*...men of every race and country live in it".[104] Thomas Bowrey also corroborates the same when he says that it was "an admirable city for greatness, for its magnificent buildings and multitudes of inhabitants".[105] Similarly, Ghoraghat in Bengal, was a large sprawling city, which has been described as a number of towns joined together.[106]

Thatta, an important town of Sindh province, owes its growth and expansion to the commercial transactions that took place through the town and its port.[107] According to Tavernier, Thatta was one of the largest towns in India at the mouth of the river Indus.[108] According to Hamilton, it was the "emporium of the province, a very large and one and half broad and was about 40 miles distance from Laharibandar. It had a large citadel on its west which had capacity of 5,000 men and horses".[109]

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97 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 140.

98 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 121.

99 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, pp. 83-84.

100 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 96.

101 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 157.

102 Thomas Bowrey, *A Geographical Account of Countries Round the Bay of Bengal,* 1669 to 1679, ed. R.C. Temple, Cambridge, 1905, p. 221, According to him, it was a very large and spacious city.

103 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 86, he mentions it as the metropolis of the whole province of Bengal; Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies,* 1688-1723, in Two Vols., London, 1811, Vol. II, p. 23.

104 Jadunath Sarkar, *India of Aurangzeb, (Topography, Statistics, and Roads)*, compared with the India of Akbar, with extracts from *The Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* and *The Chahar Gulshan*, trans. and annotated by Jadunath Sarkar, 1964, p. 40.

105 Bowrey, p. 150.

106 John Marshall, *John Marshall in India- Notes & Observations in Bengal,* ed. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, London, 1927, p. 74.

107 Nicholas Withington, *Early Travels in India 1583-1619*, edited by William Foster, reprinted, Oxford university press, Bombay, 1968, p. 190.

108 Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 9-10.

109 Hamilton, Vol. I, p. 115.

In addition to the above mentioned towns, there were several other towns such as Multan[110], Srinagar[111], Cambay[112], Broach[113], Ajmer[114], Burhanpur[115], Allahabad[116], Benaras[117], Jagganathpuri[118] which were quite populous and expanded because of their prosperity.

The towns of the north-west and western region such as Bhakkar, Sialkot, Sirhind, Samanah, Panipat, Rantipur, Baroda, Swally, Mahmudabad, Merta, Antri, Narwar and in the central and eastern regions as Biana, Kol, Firozabad, Sikandrabad, Lucknow, Jalesar, Raj Mahal, Hugli, Kasimbazar, Murshidabad, Masumabazar, Chittagaon, etc., were prosperous and big towns.

The towns and cities of the Mughal Empire were constantly expanding in terms of size and population. However, to assess the exact size, population and the extent of growth at different stages during this period would be an unfruitful exercise, for there are no records which could give us an estimate of the rate of development and the population of the towns. The government did not maintain a census department, and thus, the vague observations made by some European travellers, who at times have compared the Indian towns in extent and population with the European towns may be utilized for assessing the population growth of a few towns. Some of these estimates have been made on the basis of the size of the towns as compared to their European counterparts by the travellers.

Agra was one of the largest cities in the Mughal period. The city along the west bank was seven to twelve miles long including the suburbs and two to three miles broad. The total circumference was approximately twenty miles. In the latter half of the seventeenth century, the city had further expanded having a circumference

110 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 77.

111 *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 356; *A'in.*, Vol. III, p. 827; *K.T.*, p. 111, According to it, Srinagar was "inhabited for a long time and its habitations extent over four leagues".

112 Fitch, *Early Travels*, p. 12, According to him it was a great and very populous town.; Finch, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 64; Mandelslo, p. 6; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, pp. 17-18; Della valle, Vol. I, p. 67; *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 248.

113 De Laet, p. 24; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 66; *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 250.

114 De Laet, p. 65; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 69, Though according to these authorities, it was a moderate sized town. it was also a flourishing town in the 17th century.

115 Finch, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 32; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 100; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 50-51; *K.T.*, p. 53.

116 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 116.

117 *Ibid.*, p. 118.

118 Nizamuddin, Elliot, Vol. V, p. 299; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, pp. 94-95; Bernier, p. 304; Pelsaert, p. 8.

of over 30 miles. According to Father Monserrate, it was four miles long and two miles broad.[119] According to Abul Fazl, the Jamuna flowed through the town for 5 *kos*[120] i.e., the extent of the town along the bank of the river was about 8 miles. The town in the time of Jahangir had a circumference of seven *kos* and its breath was one *kos*. The circumference of the inhabited part on the other side of the water the side towards the east, is 2 ½ *kos*, its length being one *kos* and its breadth half a *kos*.[121] Finch mentions that, "the city and suburbs are one way seven miles in length, three in breadth".[122] According to Pelsaert, the city along the bank of the river extended for 6 *kos* or 3 ½ Holland miles[123], i.e., about 12 miles.

In the later period of the Mughal rule, the circumference of the city, as estimated by Manucci, was twelve leagues[124]. On account of Ralph Fitch's statement, we can reasonably assume that the population of Agra when he visited the town was more than two lakhs.[125] Thevenot says that, "the town of Agra is populous as great town ought to be, but not so as to be able to send out two hundred thousand fighting men into the field".[126]

In medieval ages, the imperial court and camp influenced the public activity and determined the movements of population. Besides the permanent population, there were people who moved in and out of Agra with the king: the prince and princesses, the tributary chiefs, *mansabdars* and foreign traders and merchants. It is difficult to form an estimate of the number of such people, but judging from the *sarais* and hostelries, which were always crowed, the number must have been enormous. When Manrique visited the town, he estimated the population of the town "as six lakhs and 60 thousand inhabitants, besides the large number of strangers who continually fill ninety *carvansarais* and other private houses".[127]

Bernier's observation that the capital city such as Delhi and Agra derives its chief support from the presence of army and that the population is reduced to the

119 Monserrate, *Commentary*, p. 35.
120 *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 190; *K.T.*, p. 23, according to it, *Jamuna* flows through the middle the town for 4 *kos*.
121 *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, p. 3.
122 Finch, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 74.
123 Pelsaert, p. 2; De Laet, p. 37.
124 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p. 132.
125 Fitch *The first Englishmen in India*, p. 100, he has described Agra as much greater than London's population, which was less than 2 lakhs then.
126 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 49.
127 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 151.

necessity of following the Mogul, whenever they undertake a journey of long continuance[128], is only partially true. The presence of the king and the Army did certainly affect trade and commerce as well as artisans and craftsmen, but the fact that the king and his army were very often on the move did not upset the normal life of the city or its importance as the capital town. The strength of the camp which went along with the king was not very substantial. According to Bernier, the camp consisted to 3 to 4 thousand persons.[129] Thus a close analysis of towns in northern India during the seventeenth century reveals that this statement of Bernier that 'town is a camp' is a sweeping generalisation and does not reveal the true position of towns. It is certainly true that the establishment of imperial quarter in any town would greatly increase its population and would bring in the various services required for the imperial camp, but at the same time Bernier's remarks would be true only if a particular town did not possess a considerable permanent population independent of the imperial camp.

Finch mentions the length of Delhi town as 2 *kos*[130] (about 4 miles) which expanded to approx. 5 miles, including the suburbs.[131] Delhi was also a populous town. Bernier expressed the opinion that its population was as great as of Paris[132], i.e., about 5 lakhs. A rough estimate can also be formed on the basis of the fact that there were 60 thousand[133] thatched cottages which were located in the city.

Lahore in the beginning of the seventeenth century was 12 miles in length with a circumference of 48 miles including the suburbs.[134] Tavernier estimated the length of the town at only about two miles.[135] It may be because Lahore might have had declined somewhat in size. However it still remained one of the biggest towns in India. Thevenot, who visited India after Tavernier mentions its length as nine miles, including the suburbs,[136] and on the basis of its size in the beginning of the seventeenth century, the population must have been over 8 lakhs.

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128 Bernier, p. 220.

129 *Ibid.*, p. 381.

130 Finch, *Purchas,* Vol. IV, p. 48, according to him, the city, was two in between the gates.

131 Bernier, pp. 241-42, according to him, the city had large suburbs and had so much increased that a straight line of more than a league and a half could be traced through it.

132 *Ibid.*, p. 282.

133 *Ibid.*, p. 246.

134 Finch, *Purchas,* Vol. IV, p. 52, according to him, its length was about 6 *kos* and 24 *kos* in circumference, with the suburbs.

135 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 94.

136 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, pp. 85-86, says, "It increased so much in a short time, that with the suburbs it made three leagues in length".

Della Valle, who visited Ahmadabad in 1623, remarks it as "competently large, with great suburbs".[137] According to Mandelslo, Ahmadabad had a circumference of seven leagues[138] which would be approx. 20 miles, but by the time of Peter Mundy it was about 30 miles, including the suburbs.[139] It was stated to be as big as London with its suburbs, which in 1600 A.D. continued about 2,50,000 inhabitants.[140] The population of Ahmadabad, was "near as great as London"[141], or over two lakhs towards the beginning of the seventeenth century and as the city was growing in size, so the population too increased in the same proportion.

Urban Landscape of the Towns

Most of the towns were strongly fortified by means of walls. Further, the ramparts and ditches constituted an integral part of the city. The walls were made of bricks and stones and were usually 7 or 8 yards in height.[142] Not only large towns but smaller towns were also surrounded by a wall.

As a general practice gardens, tanks, cemeteries, cremation grounds and slaughter-houses were not located near the middle of the town. As for the town castle, there appears to have been no fixed pattern. It could be in one corner[143] of the town or it could be built on a nearby hill[144] or on elevated ground surrounded by habitation.[145]

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137 Della Valle, Vol. I, p. 95.

138 Mandelslo, p. 26; De Laet, p. 19, he describe the circumference of the city as 6 Dutch miles. i.e. (about 20 miles); *Mir'at*, suppl., pp. 4-5, according to it, the length of the city was 10,125 *ilahi* yards, breadth 2,500 yards and the total area was 2,229 *bighas* and 13 *biswas*.

139 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 226, according to him the compass of the wall with the suburbs was 16 *coss*.; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 11, he describes the length of the city 1 1/2 leagues. i.e., about 5 miles.

140 Withington, *Early Travels*, p. 206; *Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East*, (1602-1617), Six Volumes: Vol. I, ed. F.C. Danvers; Vols. II-VI, ed. W. Foster, London, 1896-1902, Vol. II, p. 28.

141 Withington, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 167; *Letters Received*, Vol. I, p. 305.

142 John Albert De Mandelslo, *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India*, trans. by M.S. Commissariat, (London, 1931), p. 41, According to him, "the height of Cambay wall was 4 Fathoms which comes to about 8 yards".; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 134. Who says, the height of Patna wall was 4 or 5 yards; The height of Ahmadabad wall was 7 or 8 yards.; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (Suppl.), p. 4; Thevenot, p. 11.

143 For the fort of Surat, J. Ovington, *A voyage to Surat in the year 1689*, ed., H.G. Rawlinson, New Delhi, 1994, pp. 129-30; Finch, *Early Travels*, pp. 133-34.

144 The fort of Broach on a hill, Thevenot, p. 9.; For the fort of Asirgarh built on high mountain, Finch, *Early Travels*, p. 140.; For the fort of Daulatabad, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, trans. by V. Ball, ed., William Crooke, New Delhi, 1977, Vol. I, p. 116; For Ajmer fort see Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 68; For the Fort at Gwalior see Finch, *Early Travels, p.*144. The fort of Mandu built on mountain, Finch, *Early Travels*, p. 140.

145 The fort at Burhanpur was situated in the middle of the town, Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 42.

But it usually possessed effective defence, often with a river either one side or on two sides.[146] If there was no river on any side, it was usually encircled by a deep ditch.[147]

Many of the towns such as Ahmadabad[148], Broach[149], Daulatabad[150], Etawah[151], Mathura[152], Mandu[153], Ajmer[154], Mahmudabad[155], were fortified by stone walls and towns like Lahore[156], Cambay[157], Surat[158], Benares[159], Ahmadabad[160], and Burhanpur[161], were strongly fortified with brick walls. The side of the city which was adjacent to the river was protected by the river itself which acted as a protective barrier hence a wall was not constructed for that side.[162] Ditches[163] were also constructed alongside the walls, for the purpose of defence. These ditches were also connected with rivers.

146 Ovington, pp. 129-30; Finch, *Early Travels*, pp.133-34, 140; for the strategic situation of Allahabad fort see Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 95; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, pp. 183-84.

147 The present fort at Bikaner, built in the last quarter of 16th century, is situated on a level ground outside the town. It has a very defensive and deep trench around the outer wall. It has no river flank. However, a big tank is still lying just near the front gate. The trench is still visible. The forts of Agra and Delhi also have trenches around the outer walls.

148 Thevenot, p.11.According to him, the town is enclosed with stone and brick-walls.; Nicholas Withington, *Early Travels*, p. 206; Edward Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 301; Finch, *Early Travels*, p. 173; De Laet, p. 19.

149 Mandelslo, p. 14, According to him, "Baroch standing upon a pretty high mountain, surrounded by a wall of free stone".; Thevenot, p. 9, he describes, "It in environed with stone walls about three fathom high".; Pelsaert, p. 42, he says,"the town is surrounded by a wall of white stone and looks more like a fort than a city, it a kos in circuit".

150 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 116.

151 De Laet, p. 63.

152 Monserrate, *Commentary*, p. 92.

153 Finch, *Early Travels*, p. 140; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 97; Fitch, *Early Travels*, p. 17.

154 Finch, *Early Travels*, p. 171; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 68; De Laet, p. 65.

155 *A.N.*, Vol. III, p. 248.

156 Finch, *Early Travels*, p. 161, for Lahore, which was enclosed with a strong brick walls; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 186, he mentions, "wall of burnt bricks, high and provided with bastions".

157 Thevenot, p. 17; Finch, *Early travels*, p. 174

158 Thevenot, p. 21; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 7; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 29; Jourdain, p. 129; Careri, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 163.

159 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 96.

160 Thevenot, p. 11; De Laet, p. 19; Withington, *Early travels*, p. 206.

161 Pelsaert, p. 37, according to him, "encircle the whole city with a wall was 12 kos or more in circuit".

162 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p. 184, who refers to Delhi; Bernier, p. 241.

163 Mandelslo, p. 23, He mentions a ditch in Ahmedabad of 16 fathom breadth; De Laet, p. 66; Thevenot, p. 68; For the ditch in Ajmer, Pelsaert, p. 39; John Fryer, *Travels in India in the Seventeenth Century*, by Sir Thomas Roe and Dr. John Fryer, London, 1873, p. 248; Finch, *Early Travels*, p. 171, he mentions round ditch in Ajmer.; For the ditch in Surat, Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 134, According to him, "Patna had an earthen rampart around it"; Ralph Fitch, p. 17. For ditch in Agra, De Laet, p. 37; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, pp. 132-33.

Most of the European travellers who visited the Agra at different times during the seventeenth century, mention that there was no walls outside the city. Pelsaert, who visited Agra in 1620, says that 'it was an un-walled city.'[164] William Finch says that, "the city had no wall".[165] Thevenot, Bernier and Manucci who visited Agra in the second half of the seventeenth century say that "the city was un-walled".[166] Similarly, the towns of Masulipatnam[167] and Surat[168] had no walls either.

The gates of entrance and exits of all the cities were built into the walls. They were important both for administrative aspect or trade as well as the security of the city. These gates also served as the check-posts[169] (*chowkies*) for the principal highways of the city. These gates were connected and opened to the main streets of the city[170] and were shut after sun-set and nobody could enter or exit without the written permission of the guards.[171] Further, they were protected and served by a posse of guards. In addition to that, the walls had battlements and string-courses and also the towers were mounted with heavy cannons at all corners and strategic points or on top of the city gates.[172]

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164 Pelseart, p. 1; De Laet, p. 37, Who mentions that it had neither wall nor earthen rampart.

165 Finch, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 74

166 Thevenot, p. 47; Bernier, p. 284; Manucci, *Storia,* Vol. I. p. 132.

167 De Laet, p. 73, He describes Masulipatnam, "the chief port of the kingdom of Golconda, is a small but crowded town and un-walled".

168 Pelsaert, p. 39.

169 John Fryer, *A New Account of East Indies and Persia being Nine Years Travels*, 1672-81, edited by William Crooke in Three Vols., Hakluyt Society, Cambridge, 1909, Vol. I, p. 252, according to him, In Surat, every gate stood a Chowky.

170 Manucci, *Storia,* Vol. I, p. 132; Edward Carlyon, In Furthest Ind: The Narrative of Mr. Edward Carlyon of the Honourable East India Company, ed. Sydney C. Grier, London, MDCCCXCIV, p. 217, An exception occurs in the account of Edward Carlyon, who visited Agra in 1674. He says, "the city is a place of prodigious force, being defence on every side by a good wall of red-free stone and a ditch of 30 fathom broad. The circuit of the wall is extremely extensive".

171 Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 154-55; Thevenot, p. 17, for the gate of Cambay; Pietro Della Valle, Vol. I, pp. 22-23; Ovington, p. 130.

172 Finch, *Early Travels,* p. 161, For Lahore, which was, "enclosed with a strong bricks wall, having thereto twelve faire gates, 9 by land and 3 opening to the river".; Finch, *Early Travels,* 171, mentions about Ajmer, "enclosed with a stone wall, ditched round"; see also Thevenot, p. 68; For Ahmedabad wall, which according to the *Mir'at,* was built of burnt bricks and mortar (mixture of limestone, ash and sand) and contain 12 gates, 139 towers or Bastions and 6,079 battlements.; *Mir'at* (suppl.), pp. 2-3; see also Thevenot, p. 11; Withington, *Early travels,* p. 206; Finch, *Early Travels,* p. 173; Mandelslo, p. 23, he mentions that the city walls had twelve gates and were surrounded by a ditch 16 fathom broad.; Pelsaert, p. 42; Thevenot, p. 9, mentions about the walls of Baroch; Mundy, Vol. II, p. 210. For Cambay, Thevenot, p. 17; Finch, *Early Travels,* p. 174. For Surat wall, Jourdain, p. 129; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 7; Mundy, Vol. II, p.29; Careri, p. 163; Thevenot, p. 21. Surat wall had 7 gates, Ovington, p. 130; Burhanpur formerly was an open city. In 1926 it was encircled by a mud wall which was 12 kos in circuit and had many bastions, Pelsaert, p. 37. Multan, although an ancient city, became ruined. Akbar rebuilt it with castle, wall, gates and trench, Thevenot, p. 78. Sonargaon was a walled town, Fitch, p. 28. The town of Daulatabad had a wall of stone and was fortified with battlements and towers mounted with cannon, Thevenot, pp. 107-08.

According to *Mirat,* the wall of Ahmadabad "contained 12 gates, 139 towers, 9 corners and 6079 battlements".[173] Similarly, Bernier mentions about the flanking towers of antique shape situated in Delhi at intervals of about hundred paces.[174] According to Finch, 12 gates of Lahore, 9 opened on the side of the land and 3 gates towards the river.[175] Similarly, the gates of Baroch and Surat opened towards the land as well as the river. Towns like Baroda,[176] Cambay,[177] and Patna[178] had also towers and bastions along the wall. In some of the towns, a watch tower of great height was built.[179]

The gates gave a grand and impressive appearance to the town. The important gates of the city were those which were located at the entrance of the city, where the highways coming from the important towns converged on the city.[180] Manucci mentioning about the gates at Agra says, "Agra has great gateways in the principal streets".[181] According to Pelsaert, 5 gates were built by Akbar for the security of the Agra city, named as *madari darwaza, chaharsu darwaza, nim darwaza, puttu darwaza* and *nuri darwaza*.[182] The gates were also named after the towns to which the road led. Mundy speaking of the gates of Surat says, "These are seven gates belong to it, viz... Baroch gate... This gate leadeth to Ahmadabad (obviously via Baroch)... Brampore (Burhanpur) gate leading to Brampore... Nunsaree (Nausari) gate to Nunsaree etc..."[183]

The gates were also constructed at the entrance to the market named after it, for example, "*darwaza nakh-khas*" in Patna.[184] In addition to this the gates were also

173 *Mir'at,* (Suppl.), p. 3.
174 Bernier, p. 241.
175 Finch, *Early Travels,* p. 161.
176 Mandelslo, p. 16, he describes, "Baroda fortified with good walls and bastions and has 5 gates".
177 Thevenot, p. 17, he mentions, "it had very fair brick walls about 4 fathom high, with towers at certain distances".
178 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 134.
179 Finch, *Early Travels,* p. 174, according to him, "a watch tower was situated in the garden of Cambay, on the south".
180 Manucci, *Storia,* Vol. I, p. 184, he says, "The chief gates are the one leading to Agra and the one leading to Lahore".
181 *Ibid.*, p. 132.
182 Pelsaert, pp. 1-2.
183 Peter Mundy, Vol. II., p. 29; Mandelslo, p. 8; *E.F.I.* (1661-64), p. 307; *A.N.*, Vol. III. P. 142, according to Abul Fazal, in Patna, the roads from Delhi passed the city through Delhi gate; Manucci, *Storia,* Vol. II, p. 185, for the gates of Lahore; *Mir'at*, (Suppl.), p. 5, for the gates of Ahmedabad.
184 *A.N.*, Vol. III, p. 115.

named after some saint like *Qadri darwaza*[185], or after the name of the king like *Akbari darwaza*[186], of the name of some *Mohalla* or on the name of the community living there or the trade carried on there like Shahpur gate[187], and *Mochi darwaza* (Shoemaker gate)[188]. The gates were also named after their builders such as an official or some important noble[189].

One of the key features of a capital town was the royal enclave, which included the fort, the royal square, an open place for royal recreation and the pleasure houses. The fort was a separate entity within the city, which was constructed primarily to withstand a siege and was therefore located on the bank of a river or raised ground,[190] and was surrounded by high walls, gates, bastions, battlements and string-courses besides having towers on all four corners mounted with heavy cannon. The forts were also encircled by deep and wide ditches.[191] The ditches were spanned by bridges to the gates of the fort, which could be raised or lowered due to requirement. The fort contained houses of nobles, *bazars* (or *mandis*), merchant colonies, quarters of artisans, beautiful and spacious buildings which consisted of harems, mosques, temples, gardens with fountains, tanks, *sarais*, squares, accommodation for officers on duty and the military guards, *karkhanas*, *kacheris*, quarters for staff, water reservoir, storehouses, etc. Adjoining the fort a large '*maidan*' or square was left for official needs. This shape was called the 'Royal Square' or '*Maidan Shah*'. According to Thevenot in Agra, "Before the King's place, there is a very large square".[192] This square was primarily used for reviewing the royal cavalry, where the grand muster-master of the cavalry examined in the horses.[193] In the capital towns it was also used for pitching the camps of Rajas and nobles, who were deputed to mount the royal guard[194] in the fort and to perform other duties. Similarly, according to Mandelslo, in Ahmadabad the square was located in front of the fort, and

185 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 185.
186 *Ibid.*
187 *Mir'at*, (Suppl.), p. 49.
188 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 185, for the gates of Lahore.
189 *Mir'at*, (Suppl.), p. 5.
190 De Laet, p. 39.
191 *Ibid.*, p. 37; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, pp. 132-33; Salbancke, p. 83; Fitch, *Early Travels*, p. 17, for Agra fort and ditches; For Delhi fort and Ditches, Thevenot, p. 59; For Surat, Thevenot, p. 22, he mentions, "the ditches on three sides are filled with sea water and the fourth side, which is to the west is washed by the river".; For the ditch in Ajmer, De Laet, p.66; Thevenot, p. 68; Finch, *Early Travels*, p. 171.
192 Thevenot, p. 48; Mandelslo, p. 8, for Maidan (square) in Surat.
193 Bernier, p. 243.
194 Thevenot, p. 59; Bernier, p. 243.

was 16,000 feet long and half of it in breadth and surrounded by Palm, Date, Citron and Orange trees.[195]

Between the walls of the fort and the river, a large chunk of space was left where the royal elephants fought and other activities were organized for the King's pleasure.[196] In some towns, this place was also used as the ground for playing *chaugan*.[197] According to Peter Mundy in Agra, fire-works were displayed there.[198] In the capital towns, especially in Agra some place was reserved on the left bank of Jamuna, where royal pleasure resorts and garden houses were built.[199]

The residences of the upper class were generally located along the banks of a river in Agra,[200] Delhi,[201] Ahmadabad,[202] Lahore[203] and Allahabad the residence of the high gardens were located along a water side or outside the gates of the town which eventually developed as suburbs.

A city was divided into different wards, '*puras*' or '*mohallas*', which were generally founded by some noble and named after him. In Ahmadabad, as mentioned in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, "Nobles used to select plots for their palaces, and the houses of their attendants were built by the side of them. The whole block was called a '*pura*' such as Akbarpura, Kalupura, Tajpur and Jamalpur etc. and in course of time these *puras* increased in number and the population of the city also grew".[204] According to Abul Fazal, Ahmadabad had 360 quarters or wards, or *puras* each of which looked like a city.[205] Whenever these wards fell into decay, they were rebuilt by some name.[206] "These *puras* were like a city", says the author of the *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk*, "Usmanpur had at least one thousand shops and in all of them were traders, artisans,

195 Mandelslo, p. 22; Thevenot, p. 12.
196 Thevenot, p. 59 (for Delhi), p. 47 (For Agra), p. 100 (for Burhanpur); Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p. 184 (for Agra); Pelsaert, p. 3 (For Agra); De Laet, pp. 39-40 (for Agra).
197 *Ain*, Vol. II, p. 191.
198 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 202.
199 *Ain*, Vol. II, p. 190.
200 Pelsaert, pp. 1-2; Bernier, p. 284; Thevenot, p. 47.
201 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 97, who speaking in the context of upper class residences in Delhi says, "the greater part of the Nobles does not live in the town, but have their houses outside, so as to be near the water".
202 *Mir'at*, (Suppl.), p. 16.
203 Richard Steel and John Crowther, p. 268.
204 *Mir'at*, (Suppl.), pp. 10-11, according to it, Daryapur was founded by Darya Khan. Similarly in Agra, Wazir Khan ka Katra was probably named after some grandee of the time of Shahjahan.
205 *A'in*. Vol. II. p. 247; *A.N.* Vol. III, p.12; *Mir'at*, (Suppl.), pp. 10-11.
206 *Mirat*, (Suppl.), pp. 10-11.

craftsmen, government servants and military people, both Hindu and Muslim".[207] Similarly in Lahore the nobles built a lot of buildings, thus contributing much in the expansion and extension of the city.[208] People of the same profession or caste accumulated in the same locality. In Agra, the Christians locality[209] was called '*Padri Tola*' where mostly Chirstians lived. In Ahmadabad the *Khatris* lived in one locality called Akabarpur.[210] In some places mixed population was congregated in one locality i.e. the Hindus and Muslims lived together[211] in one *mohalla*. The *mohallas* were named after the founders like Qazipur *mohalla*, or after the name of the king or queen like Nurganj and Akbarpur.[212]

The heart of the city was not so far from the fort. This was the epicentre of the urban developments, such as commercial establishments, the residential quarters of the middle classes and commoners, offices and public buildings like mosques, baths, *carvansarais*. The gardens were located in different parts of the city. Thus, the centre of the city became the hub of urban life, with individual traders often tending to predominate in certain quarters making them the busiest traffic whirlpool of the city.

The main roads of the city connected to the important highways (leading to the chief cities) of the empire. A large number of roads radiated from the fort and joined the highways on the outskirt of the town. The city roads further branched out into a large number of streets, spreading in all directions and connecting the principal commercial and residential centres of the town. A few of the present existing roads and streets in different towns still outlines upto some extent the courses of the Mughal roads (imperial roads) that gave access to all parts of the country.

To avoid congestion, main road and the chief streets of the city were made fairly broad and spacious and well paved with bricks. European travellers who visited different towns during the seventeenth century have acknowledged to the spaciousness of the streets of Delhi[213], Ahmadabad[214], Surat[215], Lahore[216], Patna[217], Rajmahal[218] and Cambay[219].

207 *Mirat*, (Suppl.), pp. 10-11, Usmanpur was founded by Sayyid Usman, one of the successors of the saint *Qutb-i-Alam*.
208 *K.T.*, p. 85.
209 Bernier, p. 286, he mentions a church, a college and 25 or 30 Christian families in this locality.; Nicholas Withington, *Early Travels*, p. 223.
210 *Mir'at*, (Suppl.), p. 8.
211 *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.
212 *Ibid.*, p. 14.
213 Thevenot, pp. 10, 12, 60, According to him, the streets were wide, straight and very long.; Bernier, p. 245, Accoording to him, the breadth of the principal streets were 25 or 30 ordinary

Trees were generally planted on either side of the streets[220]. The open space where the streets met was called a '*chowk*' and that space was used as the chief bazar. The street usually terminated at the fort or the 'Royal Square' situated near the fort[221]. Bernier speaking of the principal streets of Delhi says, "The two principal streets of the city, already mentioned as leading into the square, run in a straight line... In regard to houses, the two streets are exactly alike...They are generally separated by partitions in the space between which are open shops, where during the day artisans work, bankers sit for the dispatch, of their business, and merchants exhibit their wares, within the arch is a small door, opening into a warehouse, in which these wares are deposited for the night".[222]

There streets were named either after the name of a noble like *Burhan-ul-Mulk* street, or the name of the locality like Akbarpur street or the name of a market through which it passed as *Bazar-e-Khas* street, or the name of the profession which was carried on, such as '*Domniwara*' street[223]. According to Manucci, "Large, spacious and... well-built bazaars were located on both sides of the principal streets of the town"[224] . In Delhi, for example the *Chandni chowk* and *Faiz bazar* were connected with the principal streets[225]. Similarly, Della Valle speaking about the chief *bazar* of Ahmadabad on the main road says, "...a handsome street, straight, long and very

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paces; Monserrate, *Commentary*, p. 97, according to him, the streets were more imposing and impressive than in other towns.

214 Mandelslo, p. 26, according to him, the streets were very broad; Finch, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 63, According to him, the streets were large and well paved; Mundy, Vol. II, p. 266; Thevenot, p. 12, according to him, the breadth of the street was over 30 paces; Pietro Della Valle, Vol. I, p. 96.

215 Thevenot, p. 23.

216 Finch, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 53.

217 De Laet, pp. 72, 77.

218 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 125, According to him, the roads of Rajmahal were paved with the bricks in the town.

219 Mandelslo, p. 41; Finch, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 64.

220 Mandelslo, p. 22, who mentions, about the streets in Ahmedabad.

221 Bernier, p. 243; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, pp. 183-84; Thevenot, p. 60; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 97, who speaking in this context says, "...streets lead to the great square, where, the kings palace is and there is another very straight and wide one, which leads to the same square, near another gate of the people..."

222 Bernier, p. 245; Thevenot, p. 60, according to him, on the both sides of the road, there were arches which served the purpose of shops and the upper portion was used for lodging.; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 97, who speaking in the context says, "...on both sides (of the streets) there are arches on which the merchants carry on their business and overhead there is a kind of platform". He further refers to the residences of the merchants being located on the chief streets.

223 *Mir'at*, (Suppl.), p. 8, a large number of streets on Ahmedabad, along with their names, have been mentioned in *Mir'at-i-Ahmadi*.

224 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p. 184.

225 Thevenot, p. 60; Manrique, Vol. II, pp. 151, 191, for the markets in Lahore; Fryer, Vol. I, p. 248, for the Bazar in Surat; Bernier, p. 284; Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 109-10.

broad, full of shops of various trade; they call it *Bazar-i-Kelan,* that is the great market, in distinction from other than which, this is bigger".[226]

Apparently, important markets and the *bazars* also developed at the epicentre or the heart of the town or the city. These squares or *chowks* formed an attractive attribute of the city. Thevenot therefore says, "Before the King's palaces, there is a very large square and twelve other besides of less extent with in the town".[227] Bernier speaking of the Delhi square says, "Here too is held a bazar or market for an endless variety of things..." and "is the rendezvous for all sorts of mountbankers and jugglers..."[228] According to *Mirat-i-Ahmadi,* in Ahmadabad there were seventeen *chaklas*[229] and eighteen principal market streets.[230] According to Pelsaert, "After passing the fort, (Agra) there is the *Nakhas,* a great market where in the morning, horses, camels, oxen, tents, cotton goods and many other things were sold".[231]

Bazars were also developed near the central mosque of the town,[232] or an important mausoleum.[233] In Agra for example the *bazar* Taj Ganj[234] was named after the Taj.

Some localities were named after the industry or craft carried on there. For example in Agra, '*Loha-ki-Mandi*'[235] as the name implies seems to be the market of iron wares dating from the times of Mughal rulers, or *Shakkar Ganj*[236] (Sugar market), *Nil-ka-katra*[237] (indigo market) and *Phal-Hatti*[238] (Fruit market).

Generally, the central part of the city consisted of private and public buildings of importance like mosque, temples, baths, *carvansarais*, offices and residences of the

226 Della Valle, Vol. I, p. 96.
227 Thevenot, p. 48 (in the reference to Agra).
228 Bernier, p. 243; Thevenot, pp. 59, 100, for Burhanpur, where the markets developed.
229 *Mir'at,* (Suppl.), p. 8, mentioned the name of 17 *chaklas. Chakla* is a spot where four roads meet.
230 Finch, *Purchas,* Vol. IV, p. 72, In addition to its other markets like Tripolia (*Tikonia*) and another square in slope were situated near the fort; *Mir'at,* (Suppl.), p. 8.
231 Pelsaert, p. 4; Finch, *Purchas,* Vol. IV, p. 28, according to him, in Surat, the '*Nakhas*' was located near the castle.
232 *Tuzuk,* Vol. I, p. 424, according to him, in Ahmedabad, the Bazar sprang on the side of the central mosque.
233 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 64.
234 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 213.
235 Bernier, pp. 292-93; Thevenot, p. 50.
236 Finch, *Purchas,* Vol. IV, p. 57.
237 Bernier, pp. 292-93, he says, "...the Dutch have a factory in the city where they carried the trade in the sale of iron wares and purchase of 'Nil' or Indigo".; Thevenot, p. 50.
238 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 218.

middle and lower classes. These buildings were generally scattered on both sides of the streets.[239]

Traders like *Khatris* resided in '*Phal-Hatti*' i.e. in the heart of the city.[240] The vast interior of the city was crowded with the residences of the merchants, bazars, shops and the houses of the lowers classes. Jahangir speaking of Agra says, "... Many persons here erected building of three or four storeys in it".[241] The ground floor was primarily used for shops, while the second and the third storeys were used for the purposes of residence of the owners of the shops.

Administrative offices like the custom houses and police stations were generally located near the fort and in the royal square.[242] The commercial establishments and the foreign factories were located along the main streets[243] in the heart of the town.[244] Religious and educational institutions like *madarsas*, temples[245], mosques[246] and baths[247] were scattered in every lance, *bazar* and locality.

The *Jama Masjid* (mosque) was located on the main street and in the centre of the city.[248] Bernier also described the location of the principal mosque as situated at the centre of the city and around it was a square from which radiated five long streets.[249] Similarly, the *Jama Masjid* of Agra was situated at the heart of the town. According to Thevenot, the *caravansarais* were located near the square in Ahmadabad.[250] The chief *carvansarais* of Delhi built by Jehanara Begum were located in the square which was situated between the fortress and the city.[251] The *caravansarais* were also located at the entrance at the chief gate[252] of the city, in the

239 Thevenot, p. 11; Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 96-97.
240 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, pp. 78, 218, he also mentions his residence being located in the market.
241 *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, p. 3.
242 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 8; Thevenot, pp. 12, 22.
243 Thevenot, p. 12, according to him, in Ahmedabad, the Dutch factories were lodged in the fairest and longest street of the town.
244 *Ibid.*, p. 13; *E.F.I.* (1622-23), pp. 296,297; Mandelslo, p. 22, according to him, the English factory or lodge in Ahmedabad was in the heart of the city.
245 *Mir'at*, (Suppl.), pp. 128-29.
246 *Ibid*, p. 10; *K.T.*, p. 81; Thevenot, p. 48.
247 Thevenot, p. 48, according to him, "there are above 800 baths in the town (Agra)".
248 *Ibid.*, p. 13.
249 Bernier, p. 278.
250 Thevenot, p. 12.
251 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p. 221.
252 Finch, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 42.

suburbs[253] and on the bank of the river.[254] These *caravansarais* were generally situated along the main roads[255] which entered the town from different directions.

As we scrutinize the layout of the towns, it shows the lack of planning in the development of the towns. Most of the towns grew and evolved in a hap-hazard fashion. This resulted in the new buildings completely surrounding the old ones. This situation was prevalent in most of the towns which suddenly became centre of trade and commerce. Pelsaert, acknowledging the city of Agra says, "There are; indeed many places belonging to great princes and lords, but they are hidden away in alleys and corners. This is due to the sudden growth of the city".[256] In Agra, "The gates which Akbar built for its security now stand in the middle of the city and the area of buildings outside them is fully three times greater in extent".[257] Pelsaert also adds that the city was growing rapidly and there was no systematic plan to cope with the expansion.

Suburban towns emerged alongside the roads leading into the city.[258] In Agra, for instance, a large population began to settle near the tomb of Itimad-ud-aula and the Taj-Mahal.[259] Bernier noticing the extent of Agra town, beyond south-east of the fort says, "On leaving Agra, towards the east you enter a long wide or paved street, on a gentle ascent, having on one side a high and long wall, which forms the side of a square garden of much greater extent... on the other side is now of new houses with arcades, resembling hose of the principal streets in Delhi..."[260]

A prominent feature of the layout of any city, were the gardens. Thevenot mentions about the garden in Agra as, "The garden take up a great part of it and this is true of every city is significant in so far it indicates not merely that ruler and the ruled during the Mughal period had a high aesthetic sense but also that the gardens were an

253 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 163; Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 109-10.
254 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 159.
255 Finch, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 57.
256 Pelseart, p. 1.
257 *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.
258 Thevenot, p. 11; Bernier, p. 247.
259 Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 109, 111.
260 Bernier, pp. 293, 296; Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 109-10; Fitch, p. 174, According to him, the Fatehpur Sikri road, upto a distance of 5 miles was a part of the city, and old buildings and monuments were traceable on them. Ralph Fitch, speaking about the distance between Agra and Fatehpur Sikri says, "all the way is a market of victuals and other things as full as though a man were still in a town, so many people as if a man were in a market". Similarly, Agra city expanded towards Sikandra road and Gwalior road.

important part of town planning at that time".[261] According to Pelsaert in Agra, "The luxuriance of the groves all round makes them resemble a royal park rather than a city".[262] According to Bernier, "A large expanse of luxuriant garden (is) a part of the city of Agra..."[263]. Similarly, Ahmadabad was well surrounded by gardens which looked like forests.[264]

Apart from the gardens that developed along the palaces, residences, mausoleums and tombs, several other huge gardens were laid out and were used as pleasure resorts. Most of the European travellers have mentioned about the lack of planning of the town of Agra and its narrow streets. One of the main reasons was its geographical location. The river Jamuna left extensive ravines in the city, which made the streets narrow, secondly being the capital town it had a heavy pressure of population and the town could not cope with it and it became very congested. The buildings and residences were constructed wherever any space was available. Examine the remark of Pelsaert in this context, "Everyone acquired and purchase the plot of land which suited or pleased him best".[265]

The towns had huge buildings which were prominent from most of the parts of the city. They were usually made of red stone and white marble. The buildings were beautifully designed according to the taste and needs of the residents. According to Bernier, "the buildings in the city were constructed to suit the climate of the country and not like those of Paris, London or Amsterdam".[266] The town of Agra was the largest town in the country and had good buildings.[267] The author of the *Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh* gives a vivid description of the general appearance and layout of the Delhi city, "Its hearts ravishing houses have perfect beauty and charm; its soul refreshing pleasure houses possess grace and happiness; its streets look like the flower beds of garden in ornaments and beauty, the squares of every ward of this town are beautiful and heart-ravishing like the squares of a garden; every one of its houses and mansions looks like flower beds of eternal springs in every lance and street are canals filled to

261 Thevenot, p. 49.
262 Pelsaert, p. 1.
263 Bernier, p. 294.
264 Thevenot, p. 14; Mandelslo, p. 29; Edward Terry, *Purchas*, Vol. IX, p. 21; Mandelslo, p. 42, according to him, in Cambay, there were 15 gardens in the city, which were outside the wall.; Bernier, p. 242; Manrique, p. 180, for Delhi.
265 Pelsaert, p. 1.
266 Bernier, p. 240.
267 *Ibid.*, p. 248, according to him, "...it surpasses Delhi in extent of its buildings and residence and *caravansarais*".

the brim with water of a sweet taste; the roads of its bazars are bright and heart attractive like the veins of jewels; its shops are full of happiness and beauty like the two eyebrows of beloved ones".[268]

The author of the *Haft Iqlim* mentions that, "Ahmadabad is unique in the matter of neatness, thriving population, and beautiful buildings, and it would be no exaggeration to say that so grand and magnificent a city is to be found nowhere else. Bazars are spacious and well arranged; its habitants, both men and women are handsome. And in truth, a city with such beauties is rare; whence it has been called the bride of the kingdom".[269] According to John Jourdain, who visited Ahmadabad in 1611, writes, "The city is one of the fairest cities in all the Indias, both for building and strength as also for beauty".[270] According to Finch, "The buildings of Ahmadabad were comparable to any city in Asia or Africa".[271]

Abul Fazl speaking of the public buildings in Agra at the time of Akbar says, "Everywhere also *sarais* have been built, which are the comfort of travellers and the asylum of poor strangers. Many tanks and wells are being dug for the benefit of the men and the improvement of the soil, schools and palaces of worship are being founded".[272] Similarly Nurjahan Begam built *sarais*, pleasure gardens, etc. Pelsaert rightly says, "She (Nurjahan) erects very expensive buildings in all directions *sarais* or halting places for travellers and merchants, and pleasure gardens and palaces such as no one has ever made before intending thereby to establish an enduring reputation".[273]

Thevenot speaking about the public buildings in Lahore, says, "It (Lahore) is large, and hath been adorned as the other are with mosques, public baths, *quarvansarais*, squares, tanqueis, palaces and gardens".[274] Similarly, the other important towns and cities of the country like Multan, Broach, Surat, Burhanpur, Ajmer, Allahabad, Banaras and Patna etc. also had magnificent buildings and *sarais*.

268 *K.T.*, p. 5.
269 *Mi'rat*, (Suppl.), p. 7.
270 Jourdain, p. 171.
271 Finch, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 63; Terry, *Purchas*, Vol. IX, p. 31, who describes it as most spacious and rich city.
272 *A'in*., Vol. I, p. 232.
273 Pelsaert, p. 50.
274 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 85.

In addition to these, Hindus particularly maintained hospitals for animals in Ahmadabad,[275] Cambay[276] and Surat.[277]

Hamams (public baths) was salient feature of the public amenities in Mughal India. These baths were situated in different localities[278] for the use of the inhabitants and the visitors to the town. Edward Carlyon refers to the baths of Agra, "where you may be bathed and anointed in the greatest luxury imaginable for a trifling small sum".[279] Some provision for public recreation was also made. Gardens with all sorts of amenities, situated at the outskirt of the city, were generally used by the public.[280] In addition to these, the gardens which were attached to tombs and temples were also used by the public. The government use to spend huge amount of money on the maintenance of the gardens and their upkeep.[281] Mosques[282], temples even churches were built by different communities and the king, nobles and big merchants donated large sum of money of such buildings and their maintenance.

Tanks and reservoirs were constructed for the supply of water to the public, by constructing underground channels as in the case of Fatehpur Sikri.[283] These tanks were located in the important centres of the city life such as the '*Maidan Shah*' (Royal Squares) or such other important places. Thevenot gives an account of such arrangements in Burhanpur, and how the system was working there. Speaking in this context, he says, "....they are supplied from the large square Bason... the water where of comes from a distant spring, and before it fills that Bason, passes by the *carvansarais* for strangers which it furnishes; it then runs under ground to the great Bason in the place which many times is supply at night, because of the great quantity of water which they fetch thence all the day long; but it fills again in the night time,

275 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 16; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 64, Fn. 1, mentions six animal hospitals in Ahmadabad.; Fryer, Vol. I, p. 138.

276 Thevenot, p. 18; Fitch, *Early Travels*, p. 14.

277 Careri, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 165.

278 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 48, He mentions more than 800 baths in Agra town.; Mandelslo, p. 49, who speaks about the *Hamam* in Lahore.

279 Edward Carlyon, pp. 218-19.

280 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 18, who speaking about Cambay says, "The outskirts of the town are beautified with a great many fair publick gardens".; Edward Carlyon, p. 42.

281 *Mir'at*, (Suppl.), p. 20.

282 Tavernier, Vol. I, p..97.

283 Monserrate, *Commentary*, p. 31.

and so they seldom have any want".[284] The people were familiar with the use of lead pipes.[285]

Water was also supplied to the city by the means of wells, tanks and reservoirs[286] of various types, situated inside and on the outskirts of the city. It was considered a pious set to build tanks, and sink and wells etc. for public use. Della Valle, speaking about the construction of the tanks says, "They are made in diverse places by princes, governors of countries, or other wealthy person, for the public benefits and as works of charity".[287] In Surat the tank, which was built by Gopi merchant, supplied the city with water. Thevenot was deeply impressed by its construction; he marks it "Maybe be compared to the fairest that the Romans ever made for publick benefit".[288] The drinking water was obtained from wells[289] in every town, which were built by various sections of the public as mark of piety. Individuals of good moral and character were appointed to look after the public water courses. The wells and ferries were looked after by the police chief who made arrangements for men and woman separately.[290]

The department of the public works looked after public buildings. Measures were also taken for protecting the town against floods. Akbar in his 28th year of the reign constructed a dam to protect the city of Allahabad from the flood of the river Ganges during the rainy season.[291] Similarly in Lahore, to check the flow of Ravi a 'bund' embankment was constructed by Aurangzeb, one and half league in length.[292] In addition to these, the maintenance of the town, the mosques,[293] its walls and gates[294] etc. were also amongst the duties of this department.

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284 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 101.

285 Marshall, p. 70.

286 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 34, he mentions about the reservoir at Surat, says, "The great Reservatory of water hath six angles; the side of every angle is an hundred paces long and the whole at least a musket shot in diameter...Adjoining to it, there was arrangement for taking water by the beasts".; Fryer, Vol. I, p. 261, who says that the tank of Surat is in the circumference of one mile and from all the sides, there were descending stone steps.

287 Della Valle, Vol. I, p. 32.

288 Thevenot, p. 35; De Laet, p. 18; Mandelslo, p.11, according to him, "It was so spacious that it contained enough water to supply the whole city, even in the hottest month of the year".; Mir'at, (Suppl.), p. 18, for the tanks in Ahmadabad.

289 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 35. Speaking about Surat, he says that five wells supplied the town with water.

290 *A'in.*, Vol. II, pp. 44-45.

291 *A'in.*, Vol. III, p. 420.

292 Manucci, Storia, Vol. II, p. 119.

293 *Mir'at*, (Suppl.), p. 10.

294 Manucci, Storia, Vol. II, p. 119.

Deterioration of the towns

There were only a few towns during the Mughal period that deteriorated because of some reason. Some of the towns were temporarily deteriorated due to a natural calamity like earthquakes, heavy rains, famines or diseases. A good example of that would be the city of Lahore, which in the beginning of the seventeenth century was quite large, but by the time of the visit of Tavernier, there was an immediate fall in the size of the town and its houses were in a ruinous condition,[295] which happened due to the heavy rains and floods. According to Tavernier, "the town is large and extends more than a *coss* in length, but the greater part of the houses which are higher than those of Agra and Delhi, are falling into ruins, the excessive rains having overthrown a large number.[296] According to the author of *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, "In the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb, when the river Ravi encroached upon the town and by its evidence destroyed many houses and gardens in the fourth year from the emperor's accession..".[297] Soon after this, Lahore began to grow again. According to Thevenot, "It (Lahore) increased so in a short time, that with the suburbs it made three leagues in length.[298]

The town of Ahmadabad deteriorated due to the spread of diseases,[299] Fatehpur Sikri due to the scarcity of water,[300] and Samaji, a town near the Thatta, was destroyed by an earthquake, thirty thousand houses having been destroyed.[301]

The changes in the topographical conditions largely affected the commercial activity in some regions, which subsequently affected the towns and led to their decline. However in such circumstances, the decline of the town was of a temporary nature and as soon as, the proper measures were taken, it again began to prosper.

Under Akbar, Fatehpur Sikri was a great and flourishing city,[302] but in the beginning of the seventeenth century it supressed.[303] Even then it remained as an

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295 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 95; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 85, they mentions the decline of the town on the basis of the ruinous conditions of houses.

296 *Ibid.*; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 85.

297 *K.T.*, p. 81.

298 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 85.

299 *Tuzuk*, Vol. II, p. 65.

300 Finch, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 42.

301 *Ma-Asir-i-Alamgiri*, Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 183.

302 Monserrate, *Commentary*, p. 31; Fitch, *Purchas*, Vol. X, p. 173; *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 191.

303 Finch, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 42.

important town because of the presence of carpet manufacturers.[304] Rajmahal, retained its importance due to its position on the river and commercial facilities.[305] But it definitely declined, when it was no longer the capital of Bengal. Biana declined, but it retained its importance, with the flourishing of commerce and industries there. Mandu still retained its strategic importance. Towns like Qannauj, Badaun, Gaur could not develop any commerce and industry and as such they declined considerably. Some of the towns declined due to the growth of others in their vicinity.

Cambay was declining town, in the seventeenth century mainly due to the difficulties in berthing ships as a result of silting up of the river bed.[306] Surat ultimately replaced Rander[307] and even surpassed Cambay. Surat not only had safe roads[308] but also occupied a pivotal position in the Gulf of Cambay.[309] Furthermore, it was less in danger of the Portuguese pirates than Gogha.[310] Finally, the best route from the Gulf of Cambay to Agra and Delhi lay via Burhanpur, and Surat served a better terminus for it than Cambay.[311] Therefore, Cambay's importance in trade and commerce was reduced by a part[312] and Surat became an emporium of international commerce. Similarly Thatta[313] and Multan[314], with obstructions in the carriage of goods in the river, the traffic decreased and ultimately resulted in the decline of these towns. Towns like Fatehpur Sikri, Raj Mahal, Gaur, Mandu, Biana, Kannauj and Badaun declined because they were no longer administrative centres.

304 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 3.
305 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 135.
306 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 57; Thevenot, p. 18; Nicholas Downton, p. 113; *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, p. 415.
307 Barbosa, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa,* Vol. I, p. 148; Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, Vol. I, p. 266.
308 *Letters Received*, Vol. I, pp. 280, 283, 285, 298-99, 300-01; Hawkins, *Early Travels*, pp. 62-63.
309 *Letters Received*, Vol. I, pp. 238, 258, 300; *Letters Received*, Vol. IV, pp. 152-53.
310 *Letters Received*, Vol. IV, p. 152; *E.F.R.*, (1618-21), p. 13.
311 M. P. Singh, 'The Custom-house at the Port of Surat', *Studies in Islam*, Jan-Oct., 1971, pp. 132-33.
312 Pelsaert, p. 19; Careri, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri,* p. 164, according to him, Cambay lost much of its splendour due to it.
313 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 12.
314 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri,* pp. 1, 77.

Chapter II

Towns: Categorization and Evolution

There were several different aspects of medieval Indian towns such as maritime trade, administrative centres, industrial, commercial, military, strategic religious and centres of education. Not all of the towns can be classified to a particular category as for a town might originally be established as an administrative centre, but then, in due course of time it might evolve into a centre for trade and the vice versa is also true. Categorizing a town based on a particular attribute might not be justifiable and on the flipside desribing a town in all relevant categories will create nothing but unnecessary repetetion of information. Hence, to keep the matter lucid, the classification has been done broadly and therein, indivdual characterstics of towns have been discussed. Some of the chief characteristics of the towns in Mughal India have been illustrated in Map. 1.

Towns of Maritime Trade (Port Towns)

Being a peninsula, India has enjoyed the advantage of well-defined connectivity with other countries over waterways, since a very long time. The traffic to India through waterways further increased since the discovery of the Cape route by Vasco da Gama. Consequently, the towns located on the coastal line of India on either side developed as primary port towns and hosted a significant amount of the trade activity of the country. The major port towns of India were Cambay, Gogha, Surat, Broach, Swally, Hugli[1], Chittagaong, Rajmahal[2], LahariBandar[3], Masulipatam, Nizampattam and Goa.

Cambay was 'the mart of Guzurat'[4], the inhabitants of which "applied themselves to commerce and carried on an extensive business with Achin, Div, Goa, Mecca and Persia".[5] The foreign factories were established here and goods from

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1 *English Factories in India*, (1618-1669), edited by W. Foster in 13 Vols., Oxford, 1906-27, (1618-21), p. 214; see also Thomas Bowrey, *A Geographical Account of Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, 1669 to 1679*, ed. R.C. Temple, Cambridge, 1905, pp. 167,168,169; John Marshall, *John Marshall in India- Notes & Observations in Bengal*, ed. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, London, 1927, p. 65

2 Fray Sebastien Manrique, *Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique* , trans. C.E. Luard assisted by H. Hosten, 2 Vols., Hakluyt Society, London, 1927, Vol. II, pp. 134-5. According to him the port of Rajmahal had the capacity of breathing over two thousand rowing vessels.

3 Jean De Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, edited by Surendranath Sen, New Delhi, 1949, p. 75, according to him it had a better harbour for ships than any other place of the Indies.

4 Finch, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 64; John Albert de Mandelslo, *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India*, edited by M.S. Commissariat, Oxford university press, London, 1931, New Delhi, 1995, p. 6, according to him, Cambay was the chief city where the Portuguese had their principal trading.

5 Mandelslo, p. 41.

different countries[6] were collected. Jourdain mentioned that, it was "one of the best cities of India for beauty and trade. The Portuguese carried their business here".[7] According to De–Laet, "the port is so crowded that not in–frequently 200 vessels may be seen here at once and the same time".[8] The port of Cambay was according to Jahangir 'the largest port in Hindustan'.[9] Textile goods were also manufactured here[10] and it was particularly famous for its embroidery work[11]. Carpets were also woven there but they were inferior to Persian ones.[12] Frederici found a large number of craftsmen living in Cambay who produced ivory bracelets.[13] He further mentioned the export of precious and semi-precious stones.[14] Large number of agate cups, chaplets, seals, buttons, beads, rings and others items of cornelian were also manufactured.[15] Indigo was also manufactured here.[16] The vessels and ships coming in to Cambay faced quite a few navigational obstacles,[17] hence, the port of Gogha near Kathiawar coast served as the anchorage for the vessels proceeding to Cambay.[18]

The port of Surat, according to Manucci, "is the largest port in India... thus it is resorted to by a great number of ships from different parts of Europe, Persia, Arabia, Macca, Bassora, the cost of Malabar and Choromandal, Massulapatao... Bengal, Siam, Achean, Qulddah, the Maldives Malacca, Batavia, Manilla, China and many other parts of the World..."[19] According to Careri, "Surat is the prime mart of

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6 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), pp. 282, 293.

7 John Jourdain, *The Journal of Jourdain, Describing His Experiences in Arabia, India and The Malay Archipelago*, edited by W. Foster, Hakluyt Society, Cambridge, 1905, pp. 172-73.

8 John De Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, translated into English by J.S. Hoyland and annotated by S.N. Banerji, Bombay, 1928, p. 19; Finch, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 46.

9 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, translated to English by Alexander Rogers, edited by Henry Beveridge in Two Vols., London, 1909-1914, Delhi, 1989, Vol. I, p. 425.

10 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), pp. 93,293.

11 Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, 1688-1723, in Two Vols., London, 1811, Vol. I, p. 143, He mentions, "they embroider the best of any people in India, and perhaps the world".

12 Linschoten, Vol. I, pp. 60-61.

13 Frederici, *Purchas*, Vol. X, p. 91; Fitch, *Purchas*, Vol. X, p. 169.

14 Frederici, *Purchas*, Vol. X, p. 90.

15 Thevenot, p. 18; Mandelslo, p. 15, he mentions about the manufacture of cups, seals, handles for knifes and daggers and other rarities from agates.; Pietro Della Valle, *The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India*, trans. Edward Grey, Hakluyt Society, 2 Vols., London, 1892, Vol. I, p. 61; Linschoten, Vol. II, p. 141.

16 Thevenot, p. 18.

17 Barbosa, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa,* Vol. I, pp. 138-39; Della Valle, Vol. I, pp. 17, 63-65; Hawkins, *Early Travels*, pp. 62-63; Thomas Best, pp. 231-32; Thevenot, pp. 18-19; Careri, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 164.

18 Hawkins, *Early Travels*, pp. 62-63; Ovington, p. 131; *A'in.*, Vol. I, p. 486.

19 Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India*, trans. William Irvine, 4 Vols., Indian Text Series, London, 1907, Vol. I, p. 61; Pelsaert, p. 40; Walter Payton, '*Second Voyage*', *Purchas*,

India all nations in the world trading thither...".[20] Fryer describing the port of Surat says, "Nature had designed her by sea, and land, the seat of traffick, would have nothing to hinder her from being the completest mistress there or in the whole world".[21] It had a good harbour and a convenient base for collecting goods for export as it was well connected by roads with the different regions[22]. Goods produced in the empire of the great Mughul and a portion of those of the kingdom of Goldonda and the kingdom of Bijapur reached Surat to be exported by sea to different places of Asia and Europe[23]. The Indian and foreign merchants[24] assembled, and the foreign factories[25] were established there. It was also "one of the most eminent cities for traffic of all the east".[26] As Manucci says, "Surat which was inhabited by rich traders, Mahomdedan, Hindu, English, Dutch, became still more populous, by the arrival of the French".[27]

Careri mentioned that there were rich merchants in Surat, who could load any great ship out of one of their ware-houses[28]. It was the chief market of different commodities especially of textile which were collected here from far and distant places.[29] Carpets of silk embroidered with gold and silver were manufactured[30]and even cotton yarns.[31] Ship building was another industry in Surat[32] where, "...were built very fine lofty ships in a very short time, everything necessary being found principally excellent timber, for which reason these ships last much longer than those

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Vol. IV, p. 296; Terry, *Purchas*, Vol. IX, p. 15; Careri, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 163, According to Careri, no ships were sailing to Indian ocean with commodities from Surat.

20 Careri, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 163.

21 John Fryer, *A New Account of East Indies and Persia being Nine Years Travels*, 1672-81, edited by William Crooke in Three Vols., Hakluyt Society, Cambridge, 1909, Vol. I, p. 302.

22 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 11. English Factors mention its being connected with Burhanpur and other south-eastern region. See also Thevenot, p. 77. According to him Surat was connected by road with Thatta, from where also goods were brought to it.

23 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 35

24 Thevenot, pp. 21-22,according to him, Persians, Arabians, Turks, Franks, Armenians, Jews, Dutch and English and other Christians were present there.; Mandelslo, p. 10.

25 Thevenot, p. 22; Pelsaert, p. 41.

26 Mandelslo, p. 10; *Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East*, (1602-1617), Six Volumes: Vol. I, ed. F.C. Danvers; Vols. II-VI, ed. W. Foster, London, 1896-1902, Vol. I, p. 238, It says. "through the whole Indies there cannot be any place more beneficial for our country than this being the only key to open all the rich and best trade of the Indies".

27 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p. 62.

28 Careri, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, pp. 163-64.

29 *Ibid.*; Fryer, Vol. I, pp. 219-21; Walter Payton, '*Second Voyage*', *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 296; Thevenot, p. 25.

30 Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 3; *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 110.

31 *E.F.I.* (1634-36), p. 130.

32 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 314.

made in Europe".[33] Metal goods were also manufactured and making of jewels and cutting of precious stones as well[34] was practiced. Gumlac [35] was refined and *tari*[36], the Indian drink was also prepared.

Surat, though inferior to Rander, according to Barbosa who visited it in the early 16th century, was one of the major seaports of the Gujarat and its custom-house ("divan") brought in nearly a great sum of money to the king of Cambay.[37]

Broach[38], according to Abul Fazl, Broach was a maritime town of first rate importance.[39] Broach was rich in raw-materials and her water was particularly good for washing and bleaching clothes. The important and established industries in Broach were of textiles,[40] bleaching,[41] ship-building[42] and of mining.[43] Ahmadabad[44] and Baroda[45] sent textiles to Broach for bleaching. Broach *baftas* were either white or coloured,[46] due to the abounded dyers, who skilfully coloured the clothes.[47] The textile of Broach gained much popularity because of their suitability for the overseas market in the Southeast Asia and the red sea region.[48] The English found them useful for export to England.[49]

Hugli was an important port of Bengal province. It owed much to the Portuguese for its development as a port;[50] acquired prominence after 1632 when other European nations had arrived in Bengal waters.[51] It had earlier eliminated the

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33 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p. 62.
34 Fryer, Vol. I, p. 284; *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 36; Pelsaert, p. 42.
35 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 51.
36 Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia*, edited by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Vol. II, entitled '*Travels in Asia*' Hakluyt Society, London, 1914, Vol. II, pp. 32-33.
37 Barbosa, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, 2 Vols., trans. M.L. Dames,London,1921, Vol. I, p. 149.
38 Withington, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 167.
39 *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 250.
40 Thevenot, p. 9; Pelsaert, p. 43; Finch, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 15; Careri, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 164; Della Valle, Vol. I, p. 60.
41 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 347; Thevenot, p. 9.
42 *E.F.I.* (1622-23), p. 93.
43 Finch, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 64, according to him, near the town, the magnificent gems called 'agates' were found. Thevenot, p. 9, mentions trade of Agate here.
44 *E.F.I.* (1622-23), pp. 50, 72.
45 *Ibid.*, p. 118.
46 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 305.
47 *Letters Received*, Vol. III, p. 54.
48 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 54.
49 *E.F.I.* (1622-23), p. 110.
50 Manrique, Vol. I, pp. 27-29; *Padshahnama*, Vol. I, p. 434.
51 Streynsham Master, '*The Diaries of Streynsham Master and other papers relating thereto*', ed. R.C. Temple, Indian Records Series, 2 Vols. London, 1911, Vol. II, pp. 79-80, according to him, Hugli was occupied by the Mughal in 1632,and the port was opened to the other Europeans.; *Padshahnama*, Vol. I, p. 434.

old port of Satgaon in its close vicinity.[52] Hugly was a large and populous town. According to Bowrey, "it was a famous and beautiful town adorned with many fine structures and very populous".[53] It had a large Christian population.[54]

Lahari Bandar[55] was also a port of significant importance. Hamilton tries to give exact location of the port by writing that Laharibandar stood about 5 or 6 leagues from the sea, on a branch of the river Indus.[56] This port had the capacity to receive 200 or 300 ships at a time.[57] It was the chief sea-port of Sindh and Thatta in medieval period. De Laet describing the importance of Laharibandar said that, "...Laharibandar was its (Thatta's) chief port and took three days journey from Thatta".[58]

Masulipatam was the chief port of the kingdom of Golconda[59] and was reported to possess the best anchoring ground.[60] The Dutch established their factory at Masulipatam in 1606[61] and the English in 1611.[62] The French came as late as 1669-70.[63] Methwold described it as a "fit residence for merchants".[64] Masulipatam was an important centre of trade and the English brought chayroot samples from Nimzampattam to Masulipatam for the comparison of the varities.[65] Ship repair work was also done at Masulipatam.[66]

Nizampattam (port) as compared to the port of Masulipatam, was geographically better situated and admitted vessels upto 100 tons.[67] The Dutch participation in Indian trade began with the opening of a Dutch factory at Nizampattam in 1606.[68] The Dutch received fair welcome, and the Sultan of Golconda not only permitted them to trade but also exempted them from the stamp

52 *A'in.*, Vol. I, p. 391; *Padshahnama*, Vol. I, p. 434.
53 Bowrey, p. 167; Marshall, *John Marshall in India- Notes & Observations in Bengal*, ed. Shafaat Ahmad Khan,London,1927, p. 65.
54 Bernier, p. 439, According to him, it had 8 to 9 thousand Christian families.
55 Pelsaert, p. 31.
56 Hamilton, Vol. I, p. 114.
57 *Ibid.*
58 De Laet, p. 68; Thevenot, p. 75.
59 Methwold in *Relation*, p. 6.
60 Arasaratnam, S., *Masulipatnam and Cambay; A history of two port towns* (1500-1800), p. 11.
61 *D.F.I.*, p. 1, 6.
62 Methwold in *Relations*, p. 6, Fn. (i); *E.F.I.* (1624-29), p. 115.
63 *E.F.I.* (1668-69), p. 184.
64 Methwold in *Relations*, p. 6.
65 Schorer in *Relations*, p. 233; *Letters Received*, Vol. I, p. 153; *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 47; (1630-33), p. 253.
66 *E.F.I.* (1665-67), p. 248.
67 Streynsham Master, Vol. I, p. 137.
68 *D.F.I.*, p. 6.

duty on cloth that amounted to 12%.[69] The English factors mentioned, Nizampattam one of the principal ports of the Golconda province. Persian merchants were already settled there before the close of the first decade of the 17^{th} century.[70] While the major articles exported from Nizampattam were chayroot, indigo, painted cloth, course cloth and cotton yarn,[71] the Dutch and the English brought to Nizampattam usual commodities they imported namely lead, pearls and polished beads, but mainly the "cheats of money".[72]

The port of Dacca had a great rush of overseas trade and a large number of foreign ships visited it.[73] Due to its location on the river, it could be approached by ships of 500 or 600 tons[74]. Similarly, the ports of Angeli,[75] Ballasore,[76] Hugli,[77] Chittagong[78] were busy centres of overseas trade. The port towns, especially those handling overseas trade became big centres of commerce and industry.

Towns of Administration and their commercial outlook

The towns which were setup as a headquarter; for a province or a sarkar, fall under the category of administrative towns . Such a town, would have assorted classes of workers making up the population. This included court personnel, office clerks and soldiers. The soldiers particularly were posted there for several responsibilities including the protection of the town itself. Rapid development of shops, schools, sarais, mosques and temples happened in such towns. As mentioned above, a town which started primarily as an administrative centre subsequently might become an important commercial and industrial centre and thus continue to retain its importance even when its was not allowed to be seat of administration. Towns like Agra, Ahmadabad, Delhi and Patna might be considered suitable examples of the same. Agra, even after getting ceased to be the capital continued to retain its importance and gradually developed into an important commercial and industrial centre. In the words of Salbancke Agra was "...a place of great trading...and a city as great as London,

69 *D.F.I.*, p. 6.
70 Schorer in *Relations*, pp. 54-55.
71 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 41.
72 Schorer in *Relations*, p. 55; *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 41.
73 Pelsaert, pp. 8-9; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 430.
74 Bowrey, pp. 149- 150; see also Thevenot, p. 95
75 Fitch, *The First Englishmen in India: Letters and Narratives of Sundry Elizabethans Written by Themselves*, ed. by J. Courtenay Locke, London, 1930, p. 115.
76 Bowrey, p. 231.
77 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 212; Bowrey, p. 231.
78 *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 137.

and very populous"[79] and according to Manrique it was "one of the famous cities of east"[80]. Merchants from almost all the parts of the countries, gathered in Agra for apparent reasons. Thevenot mentions about the different merchants belonging to different communities such Banias, Christians, Muslims and Parsis that used to come here from different parts, carrying on commercial transactions and furnishing it with variety of goods.[81] Abul Fazal rightly says, "It is filled with people from all countries and is the emporium of the traffic of the world".[82] Similarly, the author of *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* says, "Men of every race, and country live in it and articles of his seven divisions of the globe are bought and sold here".[83]

Agra evolved as a market where; articles and commodities which were available in different and specific markets, were available here together.[84] Valuable stones like rubies, diamonds, pearls and gems could also be obtained in large quantities from here.[85] It was also prime market for the agro produce, either local or imported from the countryside and further sent to other regions. These included indigo[86], sugar[87], drugs and spices,[88] which were the main items collected for export, by the merchants. Agra also flourished as a centre of industrial development and the

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79 Salbancke, *Purchas*, Vol. III, p. 84; see also Fitch. p.103, who speaking of Agra and Fatehpur says, "Two very great cities, either of them much greater then London".

80 Manrique, Vol. II. p. 151.

81 Thevenot, pp. 47, 50; See also Fitch p. 103. According to him Agra was a "great resort of merchants from Persia & out of India"; Mildenhall, Vol. II, p.304, He mentions the presence of Italian merchants in Agra.; See also *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh, India of Aurangzib (Topography, Statistics and Roads) compared with the India of Akbar*, translated and annotated by Jadunath Sarkar, Patna, 1901, p. 23, It says "Merchants coming from (the other parts of) the kingdom and distant place, make purchases and gain profits".

82 Abul Fazl, *A'in-i-Akbari*, translated into English in Three Vols., by H.S. Warrett, Vol. II, revised by Jadunath Sarkar, Calcutta, 1891, Vol. II, pp. 190, 191.

83 Jadunath Sarkar, *India of Aurangzeb, (Topography, Statistics, and Roads)*, compared with the India of Akbar, with extracts from *The Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* and *The Chahar Gulshan*, trans. and annotated by Jadunath Sarkar, 1964, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

84 Monserrate, *Commentary on his Journey to the Court of Akbar*, translated by J.S. Hoyland and annotated by S.N. Banerjee, Cuttack, 1922, p. 35, According to him, "All the necessaries and convenience of human life can be obtained here if desired" and further describes the city as flooded with vast quantities of every tube of commodity.; See also Manrique, Vol. II. p. 157 who says," that grains food stuffs, and dainties of all sorts were available in numerous bazars". See also Pelsaert, p. 4, who says, "there is the *Nakhas*, a great market where in the morning horses, camels, oxen, tents, cotton goods and many other things are sold".; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 109, who speaks of *Taj-i-Mukan* another large bazar where an enormous quantity of cotton was sold.; See also *K.T.*, p. 23.

85 Fitch, p. 103; see also Monserrate, p. 35.

86 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II. p. 398; See also Bernier, pp. 292, 293;Thomas Roe, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p.320; *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p.73 (list of goods sent from Agra to Surat).

87 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), pp. 73-76.

88 *Ibid.*, (1618-21), pp. 46, 160, 161.

chief industry was textile manufacturing. Significantly big quantities of cotton[89], silken[90] and wollen[91] cloth of different varieties were produced and exported. Embroidered goods, gold and silver lace work and dying were also carried on. The gold and silver embroidery on turban cloth and other kinds of cloth, were done here and Agra was also famous for the same[92]. According to Abul Fazal, the masterpieces of workmanship of Agra ashtonished the experienced travallers.[93]

A huge community of craftsmen and skillful masters settled here. According to Jahangir, "Inhabitants of Agra exert themselves greatly in the acquirement of crafts and the search after learning...".[94] Similarly, according to the author of Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh, " ...excellent artisans of every art and workmen of every profession are skillful in their respective trades".[95] Another significant industry was that of mining[96] and metallurgy. Besides at the imperial workshops, articles of various metals particularly silver, gold, copper, iron and brass were manufactured for domestic use. As mentioned by Monserrate, "There are great number of artisans, iron workers and gold smiths..., gold and silver are plentiful".[97]

Among the handicrafts, inlay work, coral work; inscribing of design on various articles of metals and stones[98] flourished. As mentioned by Pelsaert, "The city contains all sets of artisans in great numbers who can imitate neatly whatever they see...".[99] Stone cutting flourished since the time of Babar.[100]

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89 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), pp. 46, 73, 93; *Ibid.*, (1637-41), p. 57; *Ibid.*, (1642-45), pp. 6, 7; Thomas Roe, *Purchas*, Vol. IV p. 320; Bernier, pp. 292, 293; Pelsaert, p. 31; Tavernier, Vol. II, pp. 6, 7; *Letters Received*, Vol. II, p. 97; Vol. VI, p. 165.

90 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), pp. 76, 160, 161; Fitch, p. 103; Pelsaert, p. 19; Salbancke, *Purchas*, Vol. III, p. 83, The Silken stuffs mostly included white turban cloth and striped cloth called '*Sashes*'; See also *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 229. According to this the silken stuffs was always available in thousands of *maunds* in Agra.

91 .*E.F.I.* (1618-21), pp. 73,161; Pelsaert, pp. 9, 19, 36.

92 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 424

93 *A'in.*, Vol. I, p. 93; See also *K.T.*, p. 23, which mentions, "Its excellent artisans of every art and workmen of every profession are skillful in their respective trades. Gold and silver embroidery on turbans and other kinds of cloth is very nicely done".

94 *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, p. 7.

95 *K.T.*, p. 23.

96 *Letters Received*, Vol. III, p. 66; Fitch, p. 47, According to him mines of diamonds were found near Agra.

97 Monserrate, p. 35; see also Thevenot, p. 55, according to him brass rings were in industry chemicals were used to dissolve the brass.

98 Pelsaert, p. 9; Thevenot, p. 55; *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 191; *B.N.*, Vol. II, p.520

99 Pelsaert, p. 9; see also Thevenot, p. 55, who speaking in this context says, "They have a way in this town of working in gold upon Agat, Chrystal and other brittle matters which our gold smiths and lapidaries a have not. When the Indians would beautifie vessels cups or coffee, besides the articles of gold the put about them, they engrave flowers and other figures & also enchase upon them...".

Agra, though primarily developed as a town of administrative importance, gradually transformed into a major commercial town. In a similar fashion, the towns of Ahmadabad, Delhi and Patna amplified from admin centers to commercial and industrial centres.

Ahmadabad, the prime city of Gujarat, was, in the words of Nicholas Withington 'nearer as great as London.'[101] The 17th century has wittnessed Ahmedabad as an undisputed commercial emporium. Mandelslo goes upto the extent of saying that, there is no commodity in the whole country and even in all of Asia which cannot be procured at Ahmedabad.[102] Carreri further adds in the context of its commercial importance that Ahmedabad is "the greatest city in india, and nothing inferior to Venice for this (Textile) trade".[103] Merchants used to assemble here from different regions.[104] Foreign merchants like the English, Dutch, Portuguese, Jews, Armenians, Arabs, Medes, Persians, Turks, Tartars bolted towards Ahmedabad.[105] Foreign factories were also established particularly by the English and Dutch.[106] According to Mandelslo things which were not produced in Gujarat were collected from other parts by imports[107]. Ahemadabad, says Pelsaert, "receives annually from Agra large quantities of goods... besides Bengal *cassas* (Muslins), *mals* (Malmal) and clothing for Hindu women from Bengal and the eastern provinces, pamirs from Kashmir and Lahore, and Bengal kand or white sugar. In other direction are brought hither. Turbans, girdles, 'Orhnis' or womens head coverings... aslo velvets, satins of various kinds, striped, flowered, or plain, coconuts from Malabar, Europena wollen goods...".[108] Saddles and furnitures[109], Indigo[110], Sugar[111], Spices and Drugs[112] were produced here in large quantities. Mandelslo provides a list of such commodities like,

100 *B.N.*, Vol. II, p. 424, Babar engaged 680 Agra stone cutters for his building; See also *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 191. According to Abul Fazl Akbar engaged masterly sculptors and cunning artists for the fashionable architectural model in capital.

101 Withington, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 167.

102 Mandelslo, p. 65.

103 Careri, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 164.

104 *Mir'at*, (Suppl.), p. 107, According to it the merchants from Sindh and other parts of Hindustan arrived and carried commercial goods to their countries.

105 Nicholas Downton, p. 152; *Mir'at*, (Suppl.), p. 107.

106 Mandelslo, p. 22; Nicholas Downton, p. 152; Thevenot, pp. 12, 17

107 Mandelslo, p. 27

108 Pelsaert, p. 19; see also Thevenot, p. 13; Mandelslo, pp. 26, 27

109 *Letters Received*, Vol. II, p. 196

110 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 72; Nicholas Downtown, pp. 112,152; *E.F.I.* (1622-23), p. 221; *Letters Received*, Vol. III, p. 25; De Laet, p. 21

111 *E.F.I.* (1651-54), p. 36; Mandelslo, p. 27

112 Du-Jarric, p. 59; Mandelslo, p. 26; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 72; *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p.76; Withington, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 167.

sugar, opium, lac, ginger, salt peter, sal-ammoniac, indigo and musk[113]. The textile industry was very flourishing. In *Mir'at*, it is mentioned that "in course of time artisans and craftsmen settled there".[114] Mandelslo, speaking particularly of the artisans' works here, says, "there are made abundance of silk and cotton stuffs... they also make there great quantities of gold and silver brocades"[115]. The cotton textiles like, chintz, quilts, callicos and cotton yarn were aslo manufactured.[116] According to *M'irat-i-Ahmadi*, "as the climate of Ahmadabad was suitable for weaving the cloth therefore it became the main centre for manufacturing the cloth in Gujarat". A diversified handicrafts work flourished there[117]. The author of *Mir'at* says about Ahmadabad, "The art of weaving golden, and silken threads into brocades, velvet, gauze needle work and embroidery varying in texture and dye is unequalled in India..."[118]. Iron and silver mines also existed,[119] near Ahmadabad. Vessels, ornaments[120] and knife handles of crystal were manufatured.[121] Paper[122] was also manufactured in Ahmedabad.

Many Indian and foreign merchants recoursed to the city of Delhi and setteled there for establishing commerce[123]. As mentioned in *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, Delhi was a town "...where all precious and rare things of every country, port and city and all wonderful articles can be had, are bought and sold at one place, the rubies of Badakhsan and sparkling pearls and sapphires, lustrous pearls of oman, bright pearls, corals and other lustrous jewels of sea and mine, at another place various kinds of cloth, merchandise, weapons, food stuffs and drinks, perfumess, and other articles which men require. At another place, many kind of dry and fresh fruits of every

113 Mandelslo, p. 27; Pelsaert, p. 19

114 *Mir'at*, (Suppl.), p. 7.

115 Mandelslo, p. 26; Du- Jarric, p.59; Careri, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 164; *Mir'at*, (Suppl.), p. 7; Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 3. According to Tavernier, "*Patoles*, stuffs of silk, decorated all over with flowers of different colours, are manufactured at Ahmadabad".

116 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 178; (1622-23), p. 100; (1634-36), p. 130; (1642-45), p. 189

117 *Mir'at*, (Suppl.), p. 7. According to it, the royal demands were supplied from here. See also *E.F.I.* (1622-23), pp. 22, 28. According to it silken goods of Ahmadabad were sent to foreign countries in abundance.

118 *Mir'at*, (Suppl.), p. 7.

119 *Ibid.*, p. 211.

120 *E.F.I.* (1624-29), p. 232; see also Pelsaert, p. 42.

121 *Mir'at*, (Suppl.), p. 211.

122 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), pp. 76, 221.

123 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 180; see also *E.F.I.* (1637-41), p. 134; *K.T.*, pp. 4-5. According to it "The men of roum (Turkey) Zanzibar and Syria, the English, the Dutch, the men of Yemen, Arabia, Iraq, Khorasan, Khwarizm, Turkistan, Kabul, Zabulistan, Cathay, Khotan, China, Machin, Kashghar, Qalmqistan, Tibet, Kashmir and other provinces of Hindustan has chosen their abode in the large city...(and) they engage themselves in their own business and trades".

country... elsewhere elephants of renown...horses...camels and other animals in thousands and thousands, yeild profit to the buyers and sellers".[124] The same author continues as "Every day the bustle of the buying and selling of all commodities is great, and the crowd of buyers and sellers is beyond limit or calculations, so much so, that you may here collect in one day all the royal article suitable for the requirements of a kingdom and the necessary outfit of a thousand soldiers can be got together in one hour, without the delay of preparation".[125] The markets of Delhi were well supplied with the goods and commodities and there were specific and seperate markets for different commodities.[126]

The textile[127]and dyeing[128] industries also flourished there as a result of which, Delhi also developed as a market of textile goods.[129]

The metal industry[130] at Delhi was also an established one. Manucci describes and Bernier corroborates that "the goldsmiths are almost continoulsy busy with the making of ornaments".[131] Not only goldsmiths, but also numerous artisans, handicraftsmen, painters and engravers were engaged in their trade.[132]

Patna was a centre of considerable commercial activity and also developed itself as the chief market for different commodities, from different regions. It has been described as the "biggest town in the Mughal Empire".[133] While Tavernier mentions it as, "the largest town in Bengal and the most famous for trade"[134], Fitch said that it was a great city in the east[135]. According to English factors it was "the chiefest marte town of all Bengala",[136] Peter Mundy too calls it to be "the greatest mart of all this countrie"[137]. The commerce was flourishing and merchants gained

124 *K.T.*, pp. 5, 6.
125 *Ibid.*, p. 6.
126 Bernier, pp. 248, 249.
127 *E.F.I.* (1642-45), p. 134; see also Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 181, he mentions the manufacture of '*chintz*' in large quantities.
128 *E.F.I.* (1642-45), p. 134, according to it, the '*chintz*' were well coloured.
129 Bernier, p. 248, according to him the textile goods were displayed in the market in great abundance.
130 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 339.
131 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 339; see also Bernier pp. 254, 255.
132 Bernier, pp. 254, 255; see also Thevenot, p. 65
133 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 140.
134 Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 258, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 100, Tavernier says, 'Patna is one of the largest towns of in Bengal and the most famous for trade, merchants of Bhutan arrive to sell their musk.
135 Fitch, p. 40.
136 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 212.
137 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 157.

such profits that they became significantly wealthy.[138] Patna was a host to a vareity of merchants belonging to different countries like Persia, Georgia, Tartary, and Carmania.[139] The English and the Dutch established their factories,[140] and the Portuguese[141] and mechants from Bhutan[142] came here in large number. It was primarily a market of agricultural products which included corn, rice, sugar, indigo, cotton and various other spices and other commodities.[143] It was also the chief market of drugs[144], opium[145]and saltpetre[146]. The textile industry of Patna was one of major businesses. The industrial aspect of Patna was the manufacturing of cotton and silken cloth of various type. As mentioned by Manucci, "in this city(Patna), besides cloth of cotton much fine silk is woven…"[147]. Mining and metallurgy also had their share in the economy of Patna. Iron shields were manufactured and sent to Agra for sale.[148] Articles of gilt and glass were manufactured.[149] Due to the existence of gold mines near Patna, the industry for purifying gold was also developed.[150]

In addition to the above mentioned industries, large number of crafts were carried on. Tavernier speaking in the context of crafts of Patna and Dacca says that "more than 2000 persons occupied themselves".[151] Beads of crystal and agate along with the bracelets of turqoise shells and sea shells were manufactured and sent to different regions.[152] The art of pottery also flourished. According to Manucci "bottles

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138 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 140, he mentions, "the city was full of such people who collected from every part of Asia,at its never ending marts… The trade was so great that…it contained in commerce all of brokers and middlemen engaged in commerce all of whom derived such great profits from their labours that most of them were wealthy men".

139 Bowrey, p. 221.

140 Manucci, *Storia,* Vol. II, p. 83; see also Bowrey, pp. 223, 225.

141 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 195; see also Pelsaert, pp. 8, 9.

142 Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 143.

143 Thevenot, p. 96; see also Bowrey, p. 227; Fitch, pp. 113, 180; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, pp. 134, 138, 150, 153, 156.

144 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, pp. 157, according to him, Patna had above 200 grocers of druggists.

145 Fitch, pp. 113, 180.

146 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, pp. 150, 156; see also *E.F.I.* (1668-69) pp. 223, 225; Hedges, Vol. I, p. 98

147 Manucci, *Storia,* Vol. II, p. 83; see also *K.T.*, pp. 37, 38, which mentions the various kinds of cloth that were woven.; See also Peter Mundy, Vol. II, pp. 140-41,150,154-55, who mentions the manufacture of five linen and white cloth.; Pelsaert, pp. 7, 8; *E.F.I.* (1618-21), pp. 193, 195, 204; Fitch, p. 180

148 Pelsaert, pp. 78; for the metal industry see *A.N.*, Vol. III, p. 321, According to it Patna had a mint.

149 *K.T.*, pp. 37, 38.

150 Fitch, p. 112; see also De Laet, p. 77.

151 Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 267.

152 *Ibid*, Vol. II, pp. 261, 266, 267.

are also made and cup of clay finer than glass, lighter than paper, and highly scented; these as curiosities are carried all over the world"[153]

Towns as Industrial centres

Another aspect of the evolution of towns was the development of the towns of administrative importance into industrial centres. There were several towns which developed industries and became important on account of local trades and crafts, such as Burhanpur, Benaras, Dacca and Baroda. Other towns of significant industrial importance were Srinagar, Sialkot, Sirhind, Samana, Pattan, Sironj, Nosari, Alwar, Bharatpur, Fatehpur-Sikri, Biana, Jaunpur, Shahzadpur, Gaya, Sonargaon, and Kasimbazar. The industrial output of such towns supplied the demands of the country as well as of foreign trade.

Burhanpur, held its importance, particularly for its textiles industries. The fine muslin of Burhanpur was sent to foreign countries[154]. The white cotton cloth was much esteemed as it was mixed with gold and silver.[155] Manucci speaking of the industries of Burhanpur says, "The town is much frequented by Persian and Armenian traders on account of many kinds of excellent cloth manufactured there, chiefly various sorts of women's head-dresses (touca) and cloth for veils (beatilha) scarlet and white of exceeding fineness".[156] It was even a mint town[157] and it seems that a number of iron factories[158] existed there. It was also admired as a commercial centre by John Jourdain who said, "To this towne there is trade from all places of Indies..."[159]

Benaras was famous for its textile and metal industries. According to Manrique, "the city is also very rich of the abundance of its merchandise especially its very fine cotton cloth, which is being woven continually on seven thousand looms in

153 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, pp. 85, 426.

154 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 51; Fitch, *Purchas*, Vol. X, p. 173; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 429; *E.F.I.* (1622-23), p. 93.100; *Letters Received*, Vol. I, p. 29.

155 Thevenot, p. 101.

156 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p. 66; *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 100; Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 5, according to him the *'chites'* of bright colours were made at Burhanpur. They are made into handkerchiefs...and a sort of veil called *ormis* (*ornis*).; *K.T.*, p. 53, according to it, "The cloathes *'sirisaf'*, *'alifa'*, and *'bhiraun'* are well woven here".; Salbancke, *Purchas*, Vol. III, p. 83.

157 Fitch, *Purchas*, Vol. X, p. 172.

158 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p. 66; Salbancke, *Purchas*, Vol. III, p. 83, according to him, Burhanpur, "... Muskets anap-lanses, pistols, petronels, and swords are very saleable".

159 Jourdain, *Journal*, pp. 145-46.

the town itself and its suburbs".[160] Silk cloth of fine quality in various colours and also worked in gold and silver were manufactured which were mostly used for making turbans and girdles.[161] The same information is corroborated by Manucci, who speaking of the manufactured cloth says, "...is made much cloth worked in gold and silver, which is distributed hence all over the Mughal realm".[162] Metals utensils, including those intended for domestic use were manufactured in large quantities[163] and sent to different regions.[164]

Dacca was famous for manufacture of textiles especially muslin. According to Manucci, "it is in this vast region that they produce the prodigious quantity of fine white cloth and silken stuffs of which the nation of Europe and elsewhere transport annually several ships loads".[165] Galleys and boats were also manufactured.[166] Tavernier described as "a succession of houses... inhabited for the most part by the carpenters who build galleys and other vessels...".[167] Large quantity of ammunition[168] was produced and English workmen were also employed along with Indians in its manufacture. Jute industry flourished and fine jute mattresses were manufactured.[169]

Dacca, although predominantly an industrial town, was also, "a place of considerable trade"[170]. The foreign merchants and factories of English and Dutch were established and had extensive trade rights.[171] According to *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, "The commodities and product of the seven climes are found here".[172]

As Dacca evolved and established as a commercial centre, the administration was forced to shift the capital of Bengal from Rajmahal to Dacca. Tavernier, who

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160 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 147.
161 *Ibid.*; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 118.
162 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 83,428; Marshall, *Notes and Observations in Bengal, p.* 114; Manrique, Vol. II, p. 147,according to him, the turbans of Benaras were used all over in Turkey, Persia and Khurasan as well as in many other countries.
163 Pelsaert, p. 7.
164 Marshall, *Notes and Observations in Bengal, p.* 114, according to him, metal utensils were sent from Benaras to Murshidabad.
165 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 430; Pelsaert, pp. 8-9, according to him, muslin was manufactured and sent to foreign countries.; *Letters Received*, Vol. II, p. 23.
166 Thevenot, p. 95; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 87.
167 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 105.
168 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 87.
169 *K.T.*, p. 41, It says, "...Some mattresses are so finely woven that they look nicer than silk. They also make mattresses which are called *sital-pati*".
170 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 125.
171 Pelsaert, pp. 8, 9; see also Thevenot, p. 95; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 128; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 86; see also Bowrey, p. 150.
172 *K.T.*, p. 40.

acknowledged this change said, "The governor and the merchants who dwelt as Rajmahal removed to Dacca, which today a place of considerable trade".[173]

Some of the smaller towns of industrial importance manufactured for the local markets, while others for a larger national or international market.

In Srinagar a large number of Industries and crafts[174] were flourishing. The most notable were the textile industries which included the manufacture of cotton[175] and woollen[176] cloth. The woollen garments and goods of Srinagar were in great demand. Abul Fazal mentions that the shawls of Kashmir were sent as valuable gifts to every clime.[177] Rearing of silk-worm[178] was also practiced in Srinagar. Other noteworthy industries and crafts were the manufactures of ink,[179] leather,[180] wood,[181] mining and metallurgy[182]. In addition to these, wood carving[183] was also carried on. Textile,[184] iron[185] and paper[186] industries were flourishing in Sialkot. In Sirhind; textile and leather[187] industries and the manufacture of boars and quivers[188] flourished. Samana [189]and Nasarpur[190]were famous for their textiles industries. Saltpetre[191] was also manufactured in Nasarpur. Sehwan too was the centre for the

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173 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 125.

174 *K.T.*, p. 111-12, according to the author, Srinagar was inhabited by all classes of artisans, skilled merchants and experts of every trade and profession.

175 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 428, according to him, in the province of Kashmir, fine linen cloth were made.

176 *A'in.*, Vol. II, pp. 353-356; Finch, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 69; Bernier, pp. 402-03; *K.T.*, p. 111.

177 *A'in.*, Vol. I, p. 98; *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 353; *K.T.*, p. 111, It says, "woollen stuffs, especially shawls are well made and sent to the seven climes (of the world) by way of present".

178 *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 353; *K.T.*, p. 120.

179 *K.T.*, p. 112.

180 Bernier, pp. 419, according to him, raw leather was available in the vicinity and possibly the leather industry existed there.

181 *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 353; *K.T.*, p. 112; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 428, according to him, ink-box, tray, boxes, spoons etc. of wood were manufactured there.

182 *K.T.*, p. 119, according to it, gold was obtained by dust washing.

183 *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 353, according to him, carving was made on wood.

184 *K.T.*, p. 95, according to it, "Embriodery with silk and gold threads and many kinds of *baftas*, *chira* (scraf), *fotah* (sheet), *sozani*, *adsaka*, table-cloth, tray covers and small tents with figures in gold thread are well manufactured here".

185 *K.T.*, p. 95, It mentions about the iron weapons.

186 *K.T.*, p. 95, according to it, good quality paper, specially the *Mansinghi* paper and silken paper of very good texture, was manufactured and exported in all directions.

187 Monserrate, *Commentary*, p. 102, according to him, shoes and sandals were manufactured and exported.; Manrique, Vol. II, p. 182; *E.F.I.* (1637-41), p. 134.

188 Monserrate, *Commentary*, p. 102.

189 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 168; *E.F.I.* (1637-41), p. 134.

190 *E.F.I.* (1634-36), p. 128, cotton cloth was manufactured here (Nasarpur) in abundance. According to Factory Records, 3,000 families of weavers lived there; *E.F.I.* (1637-41), p. 137; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 429.

191 *E.F.I.* (1634-36), p. 128.

manufacture of textile[192] goods and opium[193]. Pattan was particularly famous for the manufacture of swords.[194] Sironj was a great centre of textile[195] industries. Textiles goods[196] and perfumed oil[197] were manufactured in Nosari. In Alwar, woollen carpets and glass articles were manufactured[198]. Bharatpur had a flourishing textile industry which included the manufacture of woollen carpets[199] and tapestry[200]. In Fatehpur Sikri, woollen carpets[201] were manufactured and stones were mined[202]. In Biana, apart from their main yield indigo, sugar[203] and scents[204] were also manufactured.

Jaunpur had a flourishing textile industry, particularly the manufacture of woollen carpets.[205] Paper and textile industries[206] were flourishing in Shahzadpur. Gaya had paper and stones industries.[207] The weaving industry of Sonargaon was popular, particularly its fine muslin cloth. [208] . Kasimbazar was famous for its textiles industries which included the manufactures of cotton and silken stuffs[209]. The industry of silk bleaching[210] also flourished there. Boroda[211] and Baroch[212] were great textile

192 *E.F.I.* (1634-36), p. 129.
193 *Ibid.*, according to it there was about 1,000 households of weavers; *E.F.I.* (1637-41), p. 136.
194 *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 252.
195 *Ibid.*, p. 213, according to Abul Fazl, white muslin was manufactured there.; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 56; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 56, according to him great quantities of excellent *'pintadoes'* or *'chints'* were manufactured there, which were esteemed throughout India.; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p. 68.
196 Finch, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 28; De Laet, p. 17; *Letters Received*, Vol. I, pp. 28-29.
197 *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 262, it mentions Nosari, with a manufactory (factory) of perfumed oil, found nowhere else.
198 *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 192.
199 Thevenot, p. 56.
200 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 72.
201 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 3; *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 89.
202 Richard Steel and John Crowther, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 266.
203 *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 192, According to Abul Fazl, sugar of extreme whiteness is also manufactured in Bianah.
204 *Ibid.*
205 Pelsaert, p. 7; *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 192, According to it, Portuguese exported carpets from here.; *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 169.
206 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 98, Shahzadpur was situated between Agra and Patna.
207 *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 164; *K.T.*, p. 35.
208 Pelsaert, p. 8; *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 136.
209 Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 2; *E.F.I.* (1661-64), p. 62; Bowrey, pp. 213,230; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 97, According to him piece goods and much white cloth of high quality was manufactured there.
210 Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 4, He mentions that, "the people of kasimbazar know how to whiten their silk with a lye made of the ashes of a tree which is called Adam's fig, which makes it as white as silk of Palestine".
211 *E.F.I.* (1622-23), p. 118; *E.F.I.* (1622-23), p. 338; Thevenot, p. 44; Mandelslo, p. 44.
212 Della Valle, Vol. I, p. 60.

manufacturing centres as well. Iron was available in the neighboring areas of Pattan[213] and Gwalior[214] and these two towns became centers of iron industry.

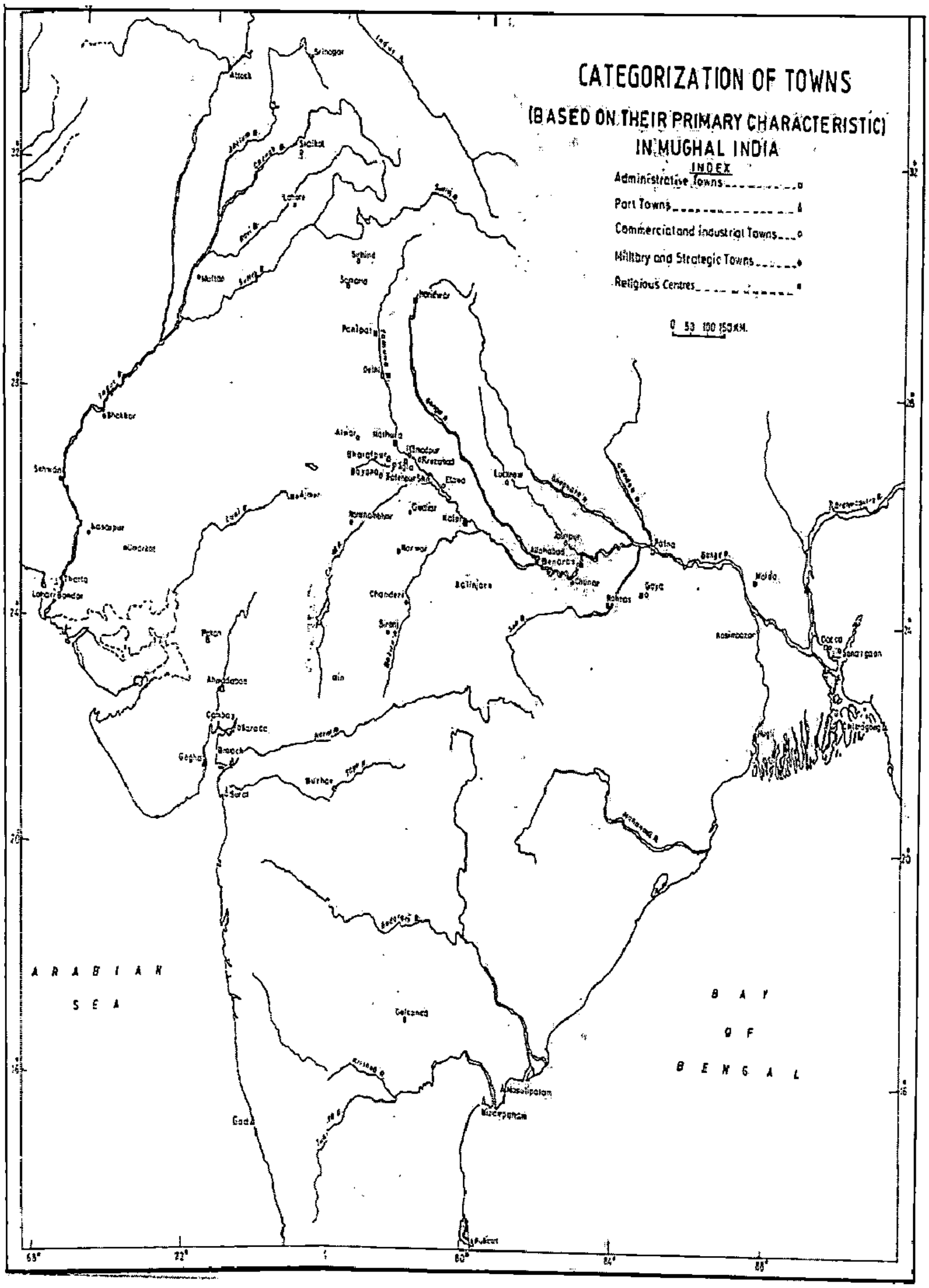
Towns as Markets of Trade

This category of towns, comprise of the ones which developed and remained as commercial centres. Although some of these towns may have initially developed as administrative or military centres, they gained much importance as commercial centres after their political military importance declined, or they may have become administrative and military centres because of their commercial importance. Towns like Lahore, Multan, and Thatta can be considered good examples under this category.

Lahore established itself as a commercial centre, very soon after its inception and inflated rapidly. This swelling in the commercial activity in Lahore increased its importance and made it as a seat of the government. The English Factors mention it to be "the prime city of traffick in India"[215]. Terry mentions Lahore as, "the chief city of trade in all India".[216] Pelsaert too appreciated the city and said that, "it was a great centre of trade in the days before the English come to Agra, and the American and Aleppo merchants did a large and very profitable business...".[217]According to Monserrate, "This city is second to none, either in Asia or in Europe, with regard to size, population and wealth. It is crowded with merchants who foregather there from all over Asia. In all these respects it excels other cities, as also in the huge quantity of every kind of merchandise, which is imported".[218] Similar to other great commercial centres merchants from different countries visited Lahore as well.[219] The account of Abul Fazl too leads us to infer that it was a great commercial and industrial centre. He says "(It was)...the residence of various traders, and craftsmen who could easily supply a large army, and furnish them with arms..."[220] It was also a flourishing market for agriculture commodities like spices and salt,[221] indigo,[222] sugar[223] and drugs.[224]

213 *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 252,mentions good swords are made here (Pattan), there being a well in the vicinity, the water of which gives them a keen edge.
214 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p. 69; *K.T.*, p. 24.
215 *E.F.I.* (1637-41), p. 135.
216 Terry, *Purchas*, Vol. IX, p. 14.
217 Pelsaert, p. 30.
218 Monserrate, p. 159; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 186.
219 *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 317.
220 *A.N.*, Vol. II, p. 80.
221 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 424; See also John Crowther, p. 269.

Map I.



(*Based on Irfan Habib's Mughal Atlas*)

222 Pelsaert, p. 30; *E.F.I.* (1637-41), p. 315.
223 Finch, *Early Travels*, p. 57; See also Richard Steel and John Crowther, p. 268.
224 *E.F.I.* (1637-41), p. 315.

Lahore also flourished as an industrial town, the most important being the textile industry; where all sorts of textile and painted clothes were manufactured.[225] Manucci says, "A quantity of fine white cloth is made there; many pieces of silk of all colours, which are called elattchas (alachah)..."[226] The woollen industry was also significantly established. Abul Fazl, speaking in the context of woollen industry says, "In Lahore...there are more than a thousand workshops. A kind of shawl called Mayan, is chiefly woven there, it consists of silk and wool mixed..."[227] Thevenot speaking in this context says, "There are in the town manufactured not only of all sorts of painted cloths, but also of everything else that is bought in the Indies..."[228] Various handicrafts and other industries like iron, leather and textiles also flourished in Lahore.[229] Iron, leather and textiles, were also well established. According to Manucci, good bows, arrows, tents, saddles, swords, coarse woollen stuffs, boots and shoes were also manufactured.[230] Carpets of various sorts were also manufactured here.[231]

Multan was also significantly important as a commercial centre. The commercial importance of Multan owes to its location on the junction of caravan routes[232] and excellent water communications[233] because of which, merchants from all around visited this place.[234] Manrique mentions that, "Multan was a place of moderate size, is nevertheless very wealthy, well stocked, and plentifully supplied with all necessaries and convenience man desires".[235] Even Manucci describes Multan as an ancient city where, before the arrival of the Portuguese many caravans of merchandise, spices and drugs used to come.[236] It was "a place of very great trade"[237]. Multan also became the chief market for different commodities which were collected

225 Thevenot, p. 85; *Letters Received,* Vol. VI, p. 200; Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 5.
226 Manucci, *Storia,* Vol. II, p. 424.
227 *A'in.,* Vol. I, p. 98.
228 Thevenot, p. 85.
229 *Letters Received,* p. 250; *A.N.,* Vol. III, p. 321; Manucci, *Storia,* Vol. II, p. 420.
230 Manucci, *Storia,* Vol. II, p. 424.
231 *Letters Received,* Vol. II, p. 236; Pelsaert, p. 31; Manucci, *Storia,* Vol. II, p. 424; see also *A'in.,* Vol. I, p. 57; *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 167.
232 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 221; Richard Steel and John Crowther, p. 269; Pelsaert, p. 31; De Laet, p. 78; *E.F.I.* (1637-41), p. 135.
233 *E.F.I.* (1637-41), p. 135.
234 Thevenot, p. 77.
235 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 221.
236 Manucci, *Storia,* Vol. I, p. 315.
237 Thevenot, p. 77.

from different regions. As mentioned in *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, "Various articles of all countries are bought and sold here".[238]

It was the great market of textile goods, which were sent from here to different part of the country as well as to foreign countries.[239] According to Pelsaert, "from Agra or Lahore, Multan receives large quantities of cotton, coarse yarns, Bengal cotton goods, turbans, prints, red salt from Burhanpur and small quantities of spices".[240] Camels were reared[241] here and horses of Arab breed were sold here being imported from Iraq.[242] It was a livestock market as well. A custom post was also established, and customs were realised on exports and imports.[243]

In terms of industry, textile goods of various types like 'Calicoes' painted cloths, 'chintzs'[244] and carpets[245] with ornamented designs were manufactured in large quantities in the city of Multan. Bows and arrows were manufactured and supplied to the country.[246]

Thatta was a town of significant commercial importance during the Mughal period and it also evolved as an administrative centre. It was located on the junction of the caravan routes[247] and equally well connected by water ways, which further complemented its commercial activity and importance. Thevenot described it as a centre of 'great traffick'.[248] According to Nicholas Withington, "no citie is by generall, report of a greater trade in the indies then Tutta...".[249] Many local and international merchants visited this place and bought commodities which were collected from different places[250] and a large number of foreign merchants established factories there and made large investments[251]. The leather of Thatta was famous as

238 *K.T.*, p. 72.
239 Pelsaert, p.31, According to him white cotton goods and napkins were exported to Kandhar. These were also sent to Agra and from there distributed in all directions.
240 *Ibid.*
241 De Laet, p. 73.
242 *K.T.*, p. 72.
243 *E.F.I.* (1637-41), p. 135.
244 Pelsaert, p. 31; *E.F.I.* (1637-41), p. 136; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 426; Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 90, 91.
245 *K.T.*, p. 73.
246 Thevenot, p. 77; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 426; Pelsaert, p. 31.
247 Thevenot, p. 75; Pelsaert, p. 32; *E.F.I.* (1634-36), p. 130.
248 Thevenot, pp. 74 ,75; *K.T.*, p. 67,who says that it was the 'emporium of all things'
249 Withington, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 171; Manrique, Vol. II, p. 238,who mentions it to be a very rich city for several reasons.
250 Pelsaert, p. 32; Manrique, Vol. II, p. 238.
251 *E.F.I.* (1651-54), p. 119; Manrique, Vol. II, p. 240.

"Sindh leather" which was exported in large quantities[252] which shows the abundance of commodity at Thatta. Thatta also possessed salt pits and iron mines.[253]

The industrial aspect of Thatta was primarily influenced by its textile industry. According to Manrique, rich cloth of various kinds was manufactured with two thousand looms.[254] Similarly, the English Factors say there were about 3,000 families of weavers who manufactured different sorts of cloth.[255] Apart from that, palanquins,[256] chariots[257] and boats[258] were manufactured and supplied to different regions of the country.

Arts and crafts also flourished there. Thevenot describes, "Indian merchants buy a great many curiosities made by the inhabitants who are wonderfully ingenious in all kind of arts".[259] As mentioned by Terry, Thatta was, "A place very famous for curious handicrafts".[260] Pelsaert speaking about the different products and the handicrafts says, "Ornamental desks, draughts boards, writing cases and similar goods are manufactured locally in large quantities they are very prettily inlaid with ivory and ebony, and used to be exported in large quantities".[261] Different types of ornamented stuffs out of leather were manufactured.[262] Dry fish were collected,[263] fish oil was also extracted.[264] Further, butter was manufactured and exported[265] and even saltpetre was manufactured.[266]

Benaras was a famous emporium for the products of Bengal.[267] Finch calls it to be a "principall mart of Bengala goods".[268] It was also a great market of textile

252 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 239; Manucci, *Storia,* Vol. II, p. 427. According to him "Thatta has much leather which is exported to Arabia and Persia".
253 *A'in*, Vol. II, p. 339.
254 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 238.
255 *E.F.I.* (1634-36), p. 130; see also Manrique, Vol. II, p. 239,who mentions, "In Thatta, rich back stitched quilts and excellent mattresses called Sinde mattresses were also manufactured".
256 Thevenot, p. 75 (Finest palanquins that are in all Indostan, are made at Thatta and there is nothing neater than the chariots with two wheels, which are made these for travelling)
257 *Ibid*, p. 76.
258 *K.T.*, p. 68.
259 Thevenot, pp. 74, 75.
260 Terry, *Purchas*, Vol. IX, p. 14.
261 Pelsaert, p. 32.
262 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 239.
263 *K.T.*, p. 68.
264 *Ibid*.
265 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 427.
266 *E.F.I.* (1634-36), p. 130.
267 De Laet, p. 65.
268 Finch, p. 65.

goods and from there the foreign merchants purchased large quantities of goods[269]. Manucci refers to the export of its goods too many parts of the world[270].

Burhanpur too became a "good mercantile town".[271] Burhanpur was the chief market for textile goods, weapons of war and such other commodities. Joseph Salbancke speaking about Burhanpur says, "Where Muskets, snaps lenses, pistols, petronels, and swords are very saleable. Woollen cloth in this place will prove a great commodity, as also cloth or gold and silver, velvets, broad cloths and bayes because there are so many Gallants".[272] The markets were plentifully stored with all provisions collected from all parts of the country.[273] It was also the chief market of agricultural and other commercial commodities.[274] Being a flourishing centre of industries, foreign factories were established there[275] and a large number of foreign merchants visited it.[276]

Baroda too developed into a commercial centre. It was a 'town of great trade'.[277] It was the chief market of textile goods.[278] Here, the foreign merchants and factories established, made large investments and purchased textile goods.[279]

A large number of such towns existed in the 17[th] century which grew as commercial centres mainly due to their location in an area where agricultural and industrial goods were produced in the neighbourhood or collected and then distributed to other regions. For example in Panipat[280] and Samana[281], the textile goods were produced and then sent to different regions. Similarly, towns like Lucknow[282],

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269 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 118.
270 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 83; Manrique, Vol. II, p. 147.
271 Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 23.
272 Salbancke, *Purchas*, Vol. III, p. 83; Thevenot, p.101; Jourdain, *Journal*, pp. 146-46; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 51. According to him, Burhanpur was the market for textiles goods.
273 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 50.
274 Fitch, p. 173; Tavernier, Vol. II, p.23; Thevenot, p. 101.
275 *Letters Received*, Vol. V, p. 53; *Ibid* ., Vol. IV, p. 294.
276 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 429; *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 66. According to Manucci, Persian and American merchants visited it.
277 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 138.
278 Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 71, 138, According to him, there was a considerable trade of calico in Baroda.
279 Mandelslo, p. 16; *E.F.I.* (1618-21), pp. 75 7 93; *Ibid.*, (1622-23) , pp. 20, 29, 93, 167; *Ibid.*, (1624-29), p. 273.
280 *E.F.I.* (1642-45), p. 134.
281 *Ibid.*, (1618-21), p. 168; *Ibid.*, (1637-41), p. 134.
282 Finch, p. 65, according to him it was a "town of great traffic for linen and other merchandise".; *E.F.I.* (1642-45), p. 6; Ibid.,(1642-45), pp. 188, 189.

Biana[283], Sirhind[284], Tanda[285], Nosari[286], Kasimbazar,[287] Sher-garh[288], Malda[289] and Dabhoi[290] had flourishing industries and were important trading centres.

Then there were towns lying on trade routes especially on the junction of roads. At such places, the *caravansarais* were built for the travellers, merchants and caravans. Naturally a market sprang up to meet the demands of the people and to supply other necessities for travel. Manrique speaking about the route from Benaras to Patna says, "this route was studded with habitation of large towns...much frequented by travellers, on this account it was well supplied with caramossaras (*caravanserais*)"[291]. According to Manucci, "For the use of wayfarer there are throughout the reaims of the Mogol on every route many 'Sarais' (Sarae)...these Saraes are only intended for travellers (soldiers do not go into them) each one of them might hold, more or less from 800 to 1,000 persons, with their horses, camels, carriages; and some of them are even larger. They contain different rooms, halls and verandas, with trees inside the courtyards, and many provisions shops; also separate abodes for the women and men who arrange the rooms, the beds for travellers"[292]. The towns like Itimadpur, Firozabad, Etawah, Shikhoabad, are the best illustrations of such towns.

According to Peter Mundy, Firozabad was 'a good bigg towne' lying on the trade route.[293] According to Finch, Itimadpur was lying on the trade route, and was full of sarais for caravans.[294]

Towns of Military and Strategic importance

A few of the towns in Mughal India, owed their importance to their strategic location and hence, they were forfited and powerful garrisons were maintained there

283 Finch, p. 41. Palsaert, p. 17. *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 192, Richard Steel and John Crowther, p. 267. Salbancke, *Purchas*, Vol. III, p. 84.

284 Manrique, Vol. II, pp. 102, 182

285 Fitch, p. 113. See also De Laet, p. 72.

286 De Laet, p. 17; *E.F.I.* (1665-67), p. 200; *Letters Received*, pp. 28, 29.

287 Bowrey, pp. 213, 230.

288 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 76, Here salt-petre was manufactured.

289 *Ibid.*, p. 155; *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 195.

290 *E.F.I.* (1665-67), p. 200.

291 Manrique, Vol. II, pp. 146, 184, Manrique further speaks 'highly of the buildings of the *carvansarais* and express surprise at the great volume of commerce and number of travellers', which he found between Agra and Lahore.

292 Manucci, *Storia,* Vol. I, pp. 68, 69; Manrique, Vol. II, pp. 100, 102; Withington, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 174, According to him, *caravansarais* were located between Ajmer to Agra.

293 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 84

294 Finch, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 69. Amedipore and Itimadpur are the same.

to protect it. The towns which would appropriately fit in this genre are Ajmer, Gwalior, Kalinjar, Ahmadabad, Attock, Bhakkar, Ranthambhor, Narwar, Chunar, Rohtas, Chanderi and Mandu. Aforementioned towns were primarily established as strategic locations for communication during war or as check posts of military importance, which gradually became important administrative centres. This led to the growth, development and expansion of such towns. One of the important strategic centre was Allahabad, but soon it became an administrative centre and the capital of one of the biggest provinces. Similarly, Ajmer primarily a military and strategic town, later became an administrative centre, and the capital of a province. Further, towns like Gwalior, Mandu and Ranthambhor were also important from an administrative point of view.

The location of a town on or on a conjuncture of an important trade route also helped in its expansion as a commercial centre. Attock, an important strategic town, became a commercial centre. Manucci in context to Attock, says, "A castle called by the same name (Attock), where all the carvans halt, from Persia, Tartary, Balque (Balkh), Samarqand, Bukhara, Cascar (Kashghar), Kabul, and many other kingdoms. There come every year one hundred and fifty thousand horses, more or less, besides many camels. Most of these are loaded with various kinds of...(fruits and other commodities)... all these are brought across the river to be sold in Hindustan, from which the Mogol King derives a great revenue"[295]. "A small town on the Ganges, commonly called the key of the kingdom of Bengal, forming a species of strait between the mountains, and a forest which is contigious to the town"[296], as described by Bernier, this was one of its strategic importance. Also, the location of this town alongside of the river and the trade route laid over it, established Bengal as a commercial centre. According to Manrique," its location facilitated the growth of commerce and goods were trasnported from there"[297] and a custom-post was established.

Gwalior developed as an industrial centre because of its proximity to iron mines.[298] According to Manucci, numerous articles of iron were made and sent to the

295 Manucci, *Storia,* Vol. I, pp. 322-323.
296 Bernier, p. 80.
297 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 137.
298 *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 192; *K.T.*, p. 24; Manucci, *Storia,* Vol. I, p. 70.

principal cities in the Mughal country.[299] The oil of jasmine was also manufactured and carried from here to various places.[300] Again, Narwar was an important town from the military and strategic point of view but it was also an industrial centre and became the centre of textile manufacture.[301]

In many cases where for various reasons the military importance of a town declined, it continued to flourish as a big commercial or industrial centre. Bhakkar was famous for its fortification and strategic importance,[302] yet it continued to flourish as a large commercial and industrial centre. Manrique says in the context of its commercial importance, " Although it is not so rich or frequented by merchants as Multan, still large numbers do congerate here on account of a cafila which leaves every year for Persia, Cozane, and other extended and distant provinces... it is at the same time well stocked with all kinds of of provisions, owing to the highly fertility and great productivity of the district".[303] It was sent to Thatta from here.[304] Textile goods like *'baftas'* were manufactured here.[305] Sword blades were made in the town.[306] Chanderi flourished as a commercial and industrial centre.[307]

A number of towns which might or might not have become administrative, commercial or industrial centres retained their importance as strategic centres. They had strong forts and large garrisons were maintained there. Towns like Chittor, Chunar and Umarkot, may be mentioned in this context. These towns had permanent large garrisons and consequently a permanent population grew up to minister to the needs of the garrison.

Towns as Religious centres

There were numerous towns which were particularly popular as religious centres. Some of these towns were considered sacred since their inception and some evolved as a result of a development of a shrine or a sacred place of worship. Some of

299 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p.70.
300 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, pp. 62, 63; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p. 70.
301 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 62, according to him the quilted coverlet some white and others embroidered with flowers in gold and silver silk was manufactured in large quantities.
302 *K.T., p.* 78; *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 320; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p. 326.
303 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 232.
304 *E.F.I.* (1637-41), p. 136.
305 *Ibid.*, (1634-36), p. 129.
306 Salbancke, *Purchas*, Vol. III, p. 84.
307 *K.T.*, p. 55; *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 207, according to Abul Fazl, Chanderi had 384 bazars, 360 spacious *serais* and 12, 000 mosques.

these towns further branched out as centres for study and education because of the people of high knowledge, who resided there. Towns like Allahabad[308], Benaras, Gaya[309], Hardwar, Ujjain, Mathura and Ajmer can be described as suitable examples under this category. Some of these towns acquired importance because their association with some saint, or religious leader or because some religious order was established there, such as Gwalior, where there was a tomb of Sheik Muhammad Ghaus, who in his time had the rank of a saint.[310] Jalandhar was a centre of Muslim pilgrimage. Nassiruddin and Shaikh Abdullah of Sultanpur had established themselves there[311]. A large number of saints were established at Kalpi.[312] Panipat is the reverent tomb of saint Abu-Ali Qalandar.[313] In Sailkot[314], Muslim saint Iman-Alisal-Haq used to reside. Sailkot thus also established itself as Mohamadan learning centre. Scholars like Maulana Kamai, Maulvi Abul Hakim and Maulvi Abullah also resided there.[315]

Eminent saints like Saikh Fridud-din Sani and Shaikh Muhammad Masum Kabuli reposed in Sirhind.[316] Sirhind had a famous school of medicines from which doctors went to distant parts.[317] Within Sambhal was *Har Mandir,* an ancient place of worship.[318] Similarly Benaras[319] though primarily was a religious centre because a number of temples and shrines, evolved as a centre of Hindu learning and culture. According to Tavernier, "in order that they (*Brahmins*) may preserve this science among them, they have a kind of university in a town called Benares, where they principally study astrology, and where they also have doctors who teach the law, which is followed with very great strictness.[320] Thanesar was also one of most sacred places of pilgrimage. The river Saraswati flows near it for which the Hindus have a great veneration.[321]

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308 *K.T.*, pp. 27-28.
309 *Ibid.*, p. 35.
310 *Ibid.*, p. 24.
311 *Ibid.*, p. 82.
312 *Ibid.*, p. 25.
313 *Ibid.*, p. 13.
314 *Ibid.*, p. 96.
315 *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.
316 *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 14.
317 Monserrate, *Commentary*, p. 101.
318 *K.T.*, p. 16.
319 Bernier, pp. 334,335; Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 182; *K.T.*, p. 28.
320 Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 182.
321. *A'in*, Vol. II, p. 286.

Most of such towns were primarily centres of pilgrimage, with a population not so large. However, at the time of some fair or religious pilgrimage, people flocked from all around and the places of worship or shrines temporarily became centres of commercial activity. A good example would be the city of Hardwar, which hosted the *kumbh* (a holy fest of Hindus, which happens once in every 12 years), because of which a significant number of population gathers in the city.[322]

322 *K.T.*, p. 19.

Chapter III

System of Town Administration

The idea of administration is not a new one; every period and reign has witnessed some or the other form of administration. It is closely linked to 'law and order' but the latter is not the only aspect of administration. It extends to provide justice to the people, to safeguard them and even provide and maintain facilities for the masses.

The efficiency of administration is primarily dependent on the integrity of the officials and the lawmen and their concern for public welfare and safety and most importantly the cooperation of the people. During the Mughal period, the Indian towns made siginificant progress towards a well defined and effective administration, which varied in its structure and its competency from town to town. The key aspect of the Mughal administration was its centralized framework, thus all the departments and the functions were interconnected and the Emperor being at the top of the administrative pyramid.

During the reign of Akbar, the entire empire was divided into *subahs* or provinces. The head of administration in the *subah* was called *sipahsalar* or commander, though later the word *subahdar* began to be used. The head of the *subah* or governor was assisted by a *diwan*, a *bakshi*, a *sadr-cum-qazi*, a *mir-i-adl* for justice, a *kotwal*, a *mir-i-bahr* or superintendent of rivers and ports, and a *waqa'-i-navis* or news-writer. Although these officers were under the authority of the governor, but the governor did not hold the right to appoint them. They were appointed directly by the Emperor and were answerable to him and to the head of their ministry at the centre.

The Emperor, apparently held the highest authority in the Empire. The Emperor seen as the 'shadow of God' and 'fountain of justice' was the highest judicial authority in the country.[1] The Mughal Emperors considered the imparting of Justice as their foremost and sacred duty and took particular delight and interest in delivering the same. From Akbar to Aurangzeb, all the Emperors took keen personal interest in the judicial administration. The observation made by Bernier regarding it, are a bit

1 Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia*, edited by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Vol. II, entitled '*Travels in Asia*' Hakluyt Society, London, 1914, Vol. II, p. 200; Bernier, , *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, translated on the basis of Irving's Brock's version and annotated by Archibald Constable, Originally published by Oxford University Press, London, 1934, 2nd Indian edition revised by Vincent A. Smith, New Delhi, 1992, p. 263; *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 42, according to Abul Fazl the king, either personally or through the officers appointed for this purpose, should impart justice to all people.

contradicting in nature. At one place, he says, "...no great lords, parliaments, or judges of local courts exist as in France to restrain the wickedness of those merciless oppressors and the *kadis*, or judge are not invested with sufficient power to redress the wrongs of these unhappy people".[2] While later he describes the interest of the king in imparting justice. According to him, the king examined the aggrieved party personally, heard the petitions from persons in private, and also attended the justice chamber called *'adalat-khany'*.[3] "It is evident therefore" says Bernier, "that barbarous as we are apt to consider, the sovereigns of Asia, they are not always unmindful of the justice that is due to their subjects".[4] Several officers of justice or *qazis* were appointed in every town. The rank of these officers, varied according to the administrative importance of the various towns.

A salient feature of the Mughal Justice was that the Emperor granted direct audience to their subjects. Humayun had instituted a drum of justice. Akbar appointed a *mir-i-arz* (in charge of petitions) who had to be continuously present in the palace. Once, Akbar appointed seven officers with Abdul Rahim *khan-i-khana* as their head. Another form of direct access was *Jharokha-i-darshan*.

The Emperor was the highest court of appeal and even the court of first instance. The Mughal Emperors used to hold his court everyday where ordinary cases were decided. Every Mughal Emperor set apart a day in the week exclusively for holding a *mazalim* court in the *daulat-i-khana-i-khas* after the *Jharokha*. Akbar[5] (Thursday), Jahangir[6] (Tuesday), Shahjahan[7] (Wednesday), Aurangzeb (two days including Wednesday).

Father Monserrate while praising the justice given under the reign of Akbar said, "for right and justice in the affairs of governments".[8] William Hawkins who visited India during Jahangir's reign, appraised the fact that the Indian kings sat "daily

2 Bernier, p. 235.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 263.
4 *Ibid.*
5 Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, translated into English by H. Beveridge in Three Vols., Calcutta, 1903-10, Vol. III, p. 717.
6 Thomas Roe, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul*, 1615-19, edited by Willam Foster, London, 1926, p. 87; De Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, translated into English by J.S. Hoyland and annotated by S.N. Banerji, Bombay, 1928, p. 93; Hawkins, *Early Travels in India*, 1583-1619, edited by W. Foster, reprinted, Bombay, 1968, p. 116; Finch, *Early Travels*, p.184.
7 Jadu Nath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, Calcutta, 1935, p. 94.
8 Monserrate's *Commentary on his Journey to the Court of Akbar*, translated by J.S. Hoyland and annotated by S.N. Banerjee, Cuttack, 1922, pp. 209-12.

in justice everyday".[9] Nicholas Withington also observed that Jahangir sat in his court at Agra three times a day to administer justice.[10] Edward Terry corroborated the same and further adds that any complainant there could hold up his petition and was sure to receive a hearing.[11] Similarly William Hawkins also mentions that, Jahangir came to the Audience Hall at three 'o' clock and took his seat on the royal throne while his nobles and *mansabdars* kept standing. For two hours he 'heard all cases in this place'.[12]

The European travellers have also referred to the golden chain of justice during Jahangir's time. Any complainant who did not receive justice could approach him. The Emperor sent up for him, examined the case and pronounced judgement or took any other appropriate action.[13] Shahjahan, like his father made sure that true justice must be enforced.[14] "Aurangzeb was desirous of appearing a great lover of justice".[15] He maintained that a king should apply himself unworriedly and painstakingly to the dispensing of equal justice to everybody.[16] The Mughal Emperors, even when out of the capital, did not neglect the cause of justice. While embarking on Bengal expedition, Akbar held his court in the boat and decided cases there.[17] During his stay in Ahmedabad in 1618, Jahangir appeared in the *Jharokha* every day for about three hours to administer justice and award punishment to the guilty.[18]

Manrique has mentioned an instance where a police officer payed compensation to a person who was wrongfully arrested, during the reign of Shajahan.[19] Similar facilities were available to common people in Aurangzeb's court, who made their representation to him without fear.

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9 Hawkins, *Early Travels*, p. 112.
10 Nicholas Withington, *Early Travels*, p. 225.
11 Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 326.
12 Hawkins, *Early Travels*, pp. 115-16.
13 *Ibid.*, p. 113; Finch, *Early Travels*, p. 184; Nicholas Withington, *Early Travels*, p. 226;Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India*, trans. William Irvine, 4 Vols., Indian Text Series, London, 1907, Vol. I, p. 174.
14 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p. 167.
15 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 260.
16 *Ibid.*, p. 261.
17 De Laet, pp. 436-38; *A.N.*, Vol. III, p. 88; Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, translated into English in Three Vols., by Brajendra Nath De, Calcutta, 1939, Vol. II, p. 285.
18 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* translated to English by Alexander Rogers, edited by Henry Beveridge in Two Vols., London, 1909-1914, Delhi, 1989, Vol. II, p. 214.
19 Fray Sebastien Manrique, *Travels of Fray Sebastien Manrique*, translatd by Eckford Luard, assisted by Hosten in Two Vols., Hakluyt Society, 1927, Vol. I, p. 424.

Edward Carlyon, describing Aurangzeb's court as a place, "where all men, even the poorest may demand admittance, and seek redress at his hand".[20] The judicial department, specially in the towns, took swift decisions on the cases.[21]

The Emperor was followed by officers like *qazis*, *muftis*, scholars and *kotwal*. While a special day was reserved to administer justice, the Mughal Emperors also used to hear cases in the *diwan-i-aam*, on almost all the days of the holding of the court. According to Bernier, Aurangzeb devoted two hours on another day to hear in private, the petitions of ten persons selected from the lower order. One day he fixed to attend the justice chamber, called *'adalat- khana'*, where he was assisted by two principal *qazis*.[22] It can be said that the trials and the punishments in Mughal India by the kings were made quickly.[23]

Abul Fazl says, "In the towns, the officers of justice like *mir-i-adl* and *qazis* were appointed to safe guard the interest of public".[24] Besides these, there were other officials like governor and the *kotwal* who administered justice and tried the cases".[25] Pelsaert, who visited the country in the reign of Jahangir says, "In every citie, there is a *kachehri* or royal court of justice, where the governor, the *diwan*, the *bakhshi*, the *kotwal*, the *kazi* and the other officers sit together daily in four days in the week. Here all disputes are disposed off...".[26]

Judicial Administration

Qazi

The king on the recommendation of the cheif *qazi* appointed competent judicial officers in various parts of the empire. These judicial officers were men of high scholarship and integrity. The *qazis* were held in respect by the people and enjoyed considerable freedom of action. Manucci says, "Never has it been heard of in Hindustan that anyone had ventured to put forth a hand upon the sacred person of a

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20 Edward Carlyon, *In Furthest Ind: The Narrative of Mr. Edward Carlyon of the Honourable East India Company*, ed. Sydney C. Grier, London, MDCCCXCIV, p. 219.

21 Bernier, p. 236, he thinks that the suits were 'speedily decided'.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 360.

23 Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 326.

24 *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 42.

25 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 42-43; De Laet, p. 21; Jean de Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, edited by Surendra Nath Sen, Indian Records Series, New Delhi, 1949, p. 27, He informs about the governor of Surat says, "The governor of Town judges in civic matters, and renders speedy justice.

26 Francisco Pelsaert, *Remonstrantie*, c. 1626, *Jahangir's India*, translated into English by W.H. Moreland and P. Geyl, Cambridge, 1925, p. 57.

qazi".[27] The *qazi* of different towns had original civil and criminal jurisdiction and also acted as courts of appeal according to their rank.

During the Mughal period, the department of justice (*daru'l-qaza*) was one of the significant administrative institutions of the town. The *kotwal* and the *muhtasib* were responsible to identify the wrong doers and take them into custody, while the *qazi* was to investigate the offence with the help of witnesses and provide the judgement under the applicable law. Even the towns under autonomous chiefs had *qazis*. The army had its own *qazi* called *qazi-i-lashkar* or (*qazi-i-urdu*) as well. The *qazi* was superior to the *kotwal* in the hierarchy as well as in judicial authority.[28]

The *qazi* was not the only body under the judicial administration. The *mufti, mir-i-adl, dorogha-i-kachehri, vakil-i-shar'i* (or *vakil-i-sarkar*) and minor office bearers such as *peshkar, sakkak, sahibi'-i-majlis, mushrif, amin, nazir, daftart, mirdahs, Muchalka-navis* (or *Munasakha-navis*) formed the other functionaries of the court of justice (*kachehri* or *adalat-khana*).

Generally, the *qazis* were supposed to be men of knowledge and wisdom. A *qazi* was required to be an adult, intelligent, a free man, a Muslim, a just person (*adil*), sound of sight and hearing and one who had sufficient knowledge of law.[29]

Some *qazis*, especially of big towns, also held *mansabs*. A daily allowance was granted to the *qazi*, and always had a revenue fund (*madad-i-ma'ash*) supporting his office.[30] The post of the *qazi* was a transferable one.[31] The chief appellate court of the province was under the purview of the *qazi*, where he exercised original jurisdiction both civil and criminal. The district *qazis* were responsible to send the appeals to the chief provincial court. The *qazi* was a member of the Governor's court as well. He could decide all cases involving civil, religious and criminal law.

The civil jurisdiction of the *qazi* included cases in respect of inheritance, marriage, divorce, marriage with non-Muslims,[32] disposal of stolen property,[33] emoluments of servants of mosques and other disputes on property.

27 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 254.
28 *Ibid.*, pp. 295-96.
29 Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, I, p. 187.
30 *Mir'at* (suppl.), p. 149.
31 Saqi Musta'id Khan, *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, English trans. J. N. Sarkar, Calcutta, 1947, p. 240.
32 *Mir'at*, Vol. I, p. 251.
33 *Ibid.*, pp. 248-49.

The *qazi* was the custodian of unclaimed property found on roads, valuables left by strangers[34] and property confiscated from the house of criminals and from such as those killed in an encounter with the *kotwal*. He was responsible for the return of such property to the genuine owner, if any. The religious duty of *qazi* was the enforcement of the rules and injunctions of the *Shari'at*, such as to exhort Muslims to offer the five daily prayers and the *Id* and Friday prayers, maintain the "Islamic mode of conduct", observe fasts in the month of *Ramazan* and pay the *zakat*.[35]

The *qazi* held enquiries into complaints originally submitted to the governor or the *faujdar*, but only when the governor himself refers the cases to the *qazi*. The criminal jurisdiction of the *qazi* also included such cases as adultery,[36] fornication,[37] inhuman practices,[38] consumption of liquor and other intoxicants[39], a slave's escape from his master's house,[40] the castration of boys etc.[41]

He was the official visitor of the prison where he had powers to make an on the spot enquiry into the cases of prisoners; and if he felt necessary, he could release under trial prisoners on bail.[42]

The *qazi*, after weighing the evidence presented by both the parties, provided judgement.[43] The *qazi* had no objection if either party insisted on settling the matter by taking oaths and the defendant took it in the manner acceptable to the other party.[44] In criminal cases, the procedure was not complicated; there was no system of commitment for trial and all the courts followed the same practice.[45] The complaint could be presented personally or through a representative.[46] The court could summon the accused at once or after hearing the evidence produced by the complaint.[47] Further, the *kotwal*, who acted as prosecutor, was asked to present his arguments.

34 *Mir'at*, Vol, I, p. 169.
35 *Mir'at* (suppl.), p. 53.
36 *Mir'at*, Vol. I, p. 251.
37 *Ibid.*
38 *Ibid.*
39 *Ibid.*
40 *Ibid.*
41 *Ibid.*
42 *Ibid.*, pp. 251-52.
43 *English Factories in India*, (1618-1669), edited by W. Foster in 13 Vols., Oxford, 1906-27, (1622-23), p. 40.
44 *Mir'at*, Vol. I, p. 252.
45 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 27; Ovington, *A Voyage to Surat in the Year 1689*, edited by H.G. Rawlinson, London, 1929, p. 138.
46 Thomas Roe, *The Embassy*, p 260.
47 *Ibid.*, pp. 141-2, 224-25.

Henceforth, the *qazi* viewed the whole case in the light of evidence presented and if he was convinced that the accused had committed the crime, he pronounced judgement, which was to be executed by the *kotwal*.[48] In case of some doubt or not finding the evidence and the arguments satisfactory, he withheld his decision for further enquiry.[49]

The accused sentenced by the *qazi* was handed over to the *kotwal*.[50] With regard to the sentence, the *qazi* had no objection if in case of capital crime, the kinsmen of the victim demanded blood for blood or cash for blood as both were permitted under Muslim law.[51] Release on bail could be granted in most cases.[52] Only the emperor[53] or the governors[54] had the authority to transfer cases from one court to another.

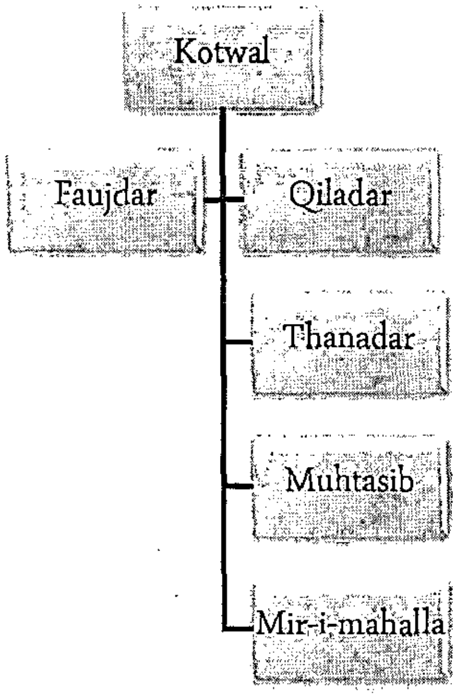
The judgements were pronounced in open court barring those, which could bear a negative consequence for the government itself.[55] The copy of the judgment could be obtained by both the parties.[56]

The *qazi* held his court in the principal mosque of the town or in the *kachehri* of the *faujdar* or at any other spacious public building erected or available for the purpose, but normally not in his own house.[57] Rapid hearing of the cases under trial was enjoined.[58]

Town Administration

The hierarchy of the officers involved in the administration of a town may be roughly sketched by the following chart.

48 *Mir'at*, Vol. I, pp. 251-52.
49 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 269.
50 *Mir'at*, Vol. I, p. 252.
51 J. N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 105-06.
52 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 199.
53 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 203-204.
54 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 128.
55 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 189.
56 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 322.
57 *Mir'at*, Vol. I, p. 245.
58 Bernier, p. 236; Manrique, Vol. II, p. 189; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. III, p. 262.



Kotwal

The *kotwal* was the chief (police) officer responsible for the administration of a town. The *kotwal* was usually appointed by the imperial government at the recommendation of the *mir-i-atish* through a *sanad* bearing his seal.[59] According to *Mir'at*, "he receives his *sanad* from the master of the ordance. Besides utilising 100 infantry under the *Nazim* of the province, he is entiled to keep 50 horsemen. His monthly salary is Rs. 213".[60] The functions of the *kotwal* were quite comprehensive.[61]

The *kotwal* was responsible for the maintenance of law and order, for apprehending criminals and executing the decisions of the lower courts. Many of the functions which in modern times are performed by the municipal officers, were then performed by the *kotwal*. The importance of the post bearer of the *kotwal* and his office is evident from the qualifications prescribed in the *A'in* for the recipient of such an officer. According to Abul Fazl, "the appropriate person for this office should be vigorous, experienced, active, deliberate, patient, astute and humane".[62]

59 *Mir'at*, (suppl.), p. 153.
60 *Ibid.*
61 Pelsaert, p. 57; Manrique, Vol. II, pp. 188-89; Bernier, p. 369; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, pp. 12, 27; John Fryer, *A New Account of East Indies and Persia being Nine Years Travels*, 1672-81, edited by William Crooke in Three Vols., Hakluyt Society, Cambridge, 1909, Vol. I, p. 246; John Ovington, *A Voyage to Surat in the Year* 1689, edited by H.G. Rawlinson, London, 1929, pp.137-38; Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, 1688-1723, in Two Vols., London, 1811, p. 321; Manucci, , *Storia*, Vol. I, p. 292; *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp.295-96.
62 *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 43.

He had a large staff of his own, consisting of a deputy,[63] a number of horsemen, infantry and sentries. Manucci says, "under his (*kotwal*) orders there is a considerable body of cavalry and a great number of foot soldiers..."[64] The place where the office of the police chief was located was called the '*chabutra-i-kotwali*', besides there were other *chowkis* in the town.[65] Akbar's farman enjoins that a *mir-i-mahalla* (head of a ward) should be appointed so that the good and bad of that street should be under his purview. A spy should visit him (*mir-i-mahalla*) every night and day to write the events of that street. It should be so settled that whenever a thief comes or there is fire or some unpleasant event take place, the neighbour should immediately rush to his (the victims) help.[66]

The primary responsibility of the *kotwal* was to prevent crimes, such as thefts and to recover stolen property. Manucci says, "He (*kotwal*) has the duty of arresting thieves and criminals... if anyone is robbed within the bounds of his jurisdiction, he is forced to make good what has been taken".[67] The *kotwal* was also supposed to establish a night watch (*chauki*) in every *mohalla*.[68] He himself was to ride out patrolling the streets thrice during night at 9 p.m., 12 p.m. and 3 a.m.; at those hours drums used to be beaten and a large copper trumpet was sounded, along with that the men of his patrolling party shouting *khabardar* ('Alert!')[69]. Besides this, surprise visits (during day time) to various places for hunting down suspects could be undertaken any moment.[70]

63 *Mir'at*, (Suppl.), p. 153. According to it, Muhammad Amin was the deputy to Sarbarah Khan Kotwal of Delhi.

64 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 421; *Mir'at*, (Suppl.), p. 153. It says Kotwal was entitled to have 50 horsemen, besides utilizing 100 men of the governor of the province.

65 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 12, who speaks of the office of kotwal in '*Maidanshah*' (Royal Square) near the fort in Ahmadabad; *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 198, It mentions the '*kotwal*' schouty in the great Bazar of Patna.

66 *Mir'at*, Vol. I, p. 144.

67 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 421; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 28. According to him *Kotwal* had to answer for all the robberies committed in the town; Fryer, Vol. I, p. 246. It was the responsibility of the *kotwal* to discover the house breakers; Tuzuk, Vol. I, p. 432.

68 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, pp. 27-28; Bernier, p. 369.

69 Ovington, p. 137; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, pp. 27-28; Fryer, Vol. I, p 247; who says, "It is the *catwals* business with a guard of near two hundred men to scower the streets and brothels of idle companions; to take an account of all people late out, to discover fires and house breaking... all night long he is heard by his drums and trumpets shouting and hallowing of his crew in their perambulation through all parts of the city; with lights and flambears..."; Manrique, Vol. II, p. 188.

70 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 6.

In an event or report of a theft or a dacoit attack, the *kotwal* had to go to the spot with his force. The *kotwal* under any condition was required to capture the guilty and recover stolen property. In case if he failed, he had to compensate the victims for all the thefts, crimes and murders committed within his jurisdiction.[71] It was his utter responsibility to apprehend the culprit and deal with him in such a way that there is no possibility left for the reoccurrence of the crime. In order to check theft and crime, he had orders not to allow people to enter or leave the town after nightfall, without his *dastak* (Pass).[72]

The main functions of the *kotwal* in this respect were to provide separate quarters (localities) for different sections of the town population such as merchants, craftsman, artisans, prostitutes, butchers, and menial servants,[73] also to regulate and provide place for cremation and burial and slaughter houses outside the town wall.[74] Prostitutes and dancing girls were always at his mercy.[75] Nobody could openly drink or sell intoxicants.[76]

The *kotwal,* in order to make a suspect confess his crime was to give him a severe whipping or torture him in many ways. "When any one is robbed" says Thevenot, "this officer apprehends all the people of the house both young and old where the robbery hath been committed and cause them to be beaten severely. They are stretched out upon the belly and four men hold him that is to be punished by the legs and arms, and two others have each a long whip of twisted thongs of leather made thick and round, where with the lash the patient one after another, like smiths striking on an anvil, till he have received two or three hundred lashes, and be in a gore of blood. If at first he confess not the theft, they whip him again next day, and so for several days more, until he had confessed all, or the thing stolen be recovered again; and what is strange the *kotwal* neither searches his house or goods; but after five or

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71 Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, translated by V. Ball, 2nd edition revised by W. Crooke, in Two Vols., London, 1889, Vol. I, p. 47; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 28; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. III, p. 403. The Surat merchants were given compensation in lieu of their plundered goods by the European pirates. Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p 204, According to him, compensation was given to the Dutch, where factories were robbed in Surat; *E.F.I.* (1661-64), pp. 310 & 311.

72 *E.F.I.* (1622-23), p. 258; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 47; Hamilton, p. 321.

73 *A'in.*, I, pp. 284-85.

74 John Marshall, *John Marshall in India- Notes & Observations in Bengal,* ed. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, London, 1927, p. 127; he saw at Patna the dead bodies being removed and cast into the Gangas by the *kotwal,* when every day 100 persons were dying.

75 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, pp. 395-96.

76 *Ibid.*; *E.F.I.* (1622-23), pp. introduction, XIX; *Mir'at*, Vol. I, p. 145.

six days, if he do not confess he is dismissed".[77] Numerous instances on records show that the *kotwal* was entrusted with defence of the town and its fort in emergency and danger. In absence of the *faujdar* and the *qila'dar*, their duties were performed by the *kotwal*.[78]

European travellers have described the *kotwal* as 'city magistrate', 'criminal judge' etc.,[79] the references on record shows that in the minor cases and petty irregularities, the *kotwal* had judicial powers. According to Mandelslo, the *kotwal* of the capital was even included in the Emperor's Privy Council.[80] Manucci states that he was to keep eye on bad characters and maintain peace and order in the area under his jurisdiction.[81] Manrique even remarks that the *kotwal* also acted as the chief custom officer.[82] For instance it was reported from *Pargana Unhel*, Ujjain (*suba* Malwa), that one Mohan had two wives who used to quarrel almost daily. The man took them to the *kotwal* and lodged a complaint with *kotwal*. Both wives were put in the lock-up for three days. On the fourth day, the *kotwal* sent for both the women and interrogated them; on finding both of them guilty, he had them whipped and after sometime released them on the assurance that they would not quarrel again. Mohan had to pay one rupee on account of expenses for keeping his wives in the *chabutra*.

Similarly, in another case the *kotwal* acted as a judge. The English factors at Broach have described an incident where certain Englishmen went out of the town during the night without the permission of the *kotwal*. On being informed of this, the *kotwal* seized them and had them mercilessly beaten; a bit later they were released.[83] Therefore, it was natural on the part of the *kotwal* to assume certain judicial powers, although there is no express reference in official sources to any judicial powers assigned to the *kotwal*. The *kotwal* was also responsible for maintaining peace, law and order by arresting the disturbing elements. In fact, the *kotwal* was the link between the ruler and the ruled, and carried out the various orders of the government which were issued from time to time, such as Jahangir's rules and regulations about

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77 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 28.

78 *E.F.I.* (1661-64), p. 311; *A.N.* III, p. 422.

79 Pelsaert, p. 57; Manrique, Vol. I, p. 418, mentions, "The common justice is called the cuttwal (*kotwal*) which are in every city and towne."; Peter Mundy, II, p. 233; Manucci, I, pp. 197-98; II, pp. 420-21.

80 John Albert de Mandelslo, *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India*, edited by M.S. Commissariat, Oxford university press, London, 1931, New Delhi, 1995, p. 118.

81 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, pp. 419-20.

82 Manrique, Vol. I, p. 18.

83 *E.F.I.* (1622-23), p. 258.

heirless property.[84] The *kotwal* took care of the legitimate disposal of such property. "Of the property of a deceased or missing person who may have no heir, he shall take an inventory and keep it in his care".[85] Abul Fazl further mentions that it was also his duty to realize the money from the debtors and giving it to the creditors. John Fryer speaking in the context of *kotwal* says, "He seizes all debtors and secures them..."[86]

The *kotwal* was also in charge of the jails and of keeping the convicts and prisoners in his custody. It was his duty according to John Fryer, "to carry all lewd persons to prison, which is solely committed to his charge".[87] Further, it was his duty to take the convicts; who were condemned to death by the judicial officials, for their execution outside the city.[88] He had "the care of punishing and executing all offenders".[89] The *kotwal* had to keep a watch over the movements of the citizens too. If someone was involved in a case, it was the *kotwal* who kept a watch over him. In Surat, some factory officials wanted to run away in disguise to escape payment of debts but the governor knew their designs, and "ordered the *kotwal* to place a guard upon the factory and allow no one to leave".[90]

It seems that the *kotwal* was also invested with the magisterial power and dealt with minor criminal cases, but his orders were appealable to the *qazi*. In such cases the *kotwal* was subordinate to the *qazi* and he received orders from him.[91]

There are several instances of these officers abusing their power and authority,[92] but whenever complaints reached the emperor, punishment was sure to

84 *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, p. 8.

85 *A'in.*, Vol. II, pp. 44, 45.

86 Fryer, Vol. I, p. 246; *Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East*, (1602-1617), Six Volumes: Vol. I, ed. F.C. Danvers; Vols. II-VI, ed. W. Foster, London, 1896-1902, Vol. VI, pp. 132, 147 & 148. It says, "Our debts are a stalling that is the cultural (*kotwal*) collects the money from debtors and shall pay us"; De Laet, p. 94. But he has missed the point and mentions that '*kazi*' dealt with the bankrupts and debtors, whereas the *qazi* simply gave judgements in the dispute, while it was the *kotwal* who carried out his orders.

87 Fryer, Vol. I, p. 246.

88 *Ibid.*, p. 245.

89 *Ibid.*, pp. 246, 247; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 27, According to him, *Kotwal* "orders the criminals to be punished in his presence, either by whipping or cudgeling..."

90 *E.F.I.* (1661-64), p. 15. Abbe Carre, *The Travels of Abbe Carre in India and near East*, 1672-74, translated from the manuscript journal of his travels in the Indian Office by Lady Fawcatt, edited by Sir Charles Fawcatt with the assistance of Sir Richard Burn in Three Vols., Hakluyt Society, London, 1947, Vol. III, p. 794, According to him the culprits were even chased to the sea by their officials. He describes them as the 'officers of governor' who went to the vessels for search but these officials must have belonged to the *kotwal's* office.

91 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 421.

92 Edward Maclagan, *Jesuits and the Great Mugal*, London, 1932, p. 110; It is said that the *kotwal* entered the Father's house forcibly to harass them.

follow.[93] It was also his duty to look after foreigners, and in case of the death of any of them, to return their property to the legitimate heirs.[94]

Most of the towns had high walls, gates, towers and battlements. Agra was an un-walled town, but had several gates which probably served the purpose of check posts. At the approach of night, the gates of the cities were closed,[95] and opened in the morning. *A 'in* mentions the erecting of barriers at the entrance of the thorough fares, as a security measure.[96] Each town was divided into several wards, which were supervised by one of the subordinate officials. The record of the inhabitants was kept with the *kotwal*. "The *kotwal*", says Abul Fazl, "should keep a register of houses and frequented roads... he should form a quarter by the union of a certain number of habitations, and name one of his intelligent subordinates for its superintendence and receive a daily report under his seal of those who enter or leave it and of whatever events therein occur".[97] A separate record was kept of the strangers coming to the city.[98] Abul Fazl mentions that, the *kotwal* should appoint as a spy one among the obscure residents with whom the others should have no acquaintance and keeping their reports in writing and employ a heedful scrutiny.[99] According to Manucci, the *kotwal* used to hire sweepers,[100] who served as spies.

Manucci says, "In every ward there is a horseman and twenty to thirty foot-soldiers who in a sort of way go the rounds".[101] Similarly, Bernier says, "The cotoual or grand provost sends soldiers in every direction, who especially pervade the bazars, crying out and sounding a trumpet.[102]

The towns were always garrisoned by a significant force for its security. According to John Fryer, in Surat, 1,500 infantry and 200 horses were stationed for security purposes.[103] Mandelslo speaking about Ahmadabad says, "A guard was kept

93 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p. 197.
94 *E.F.I.* (1622-23), p 211; *Letters Received*, Vol. I, pp. 277-279; *Jesuits and the Great Mugal*, p. 110; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p. 71.
95 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 47; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 17; De Laet, p. 19, who refers to it in connection with Cambay.
96 *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 44.
97 *A'in.*, Vol. II, pp. 43, 44.
98 *Letters Received*, Vol. I, pp. 277-279.
99 *A'in.*, Vol. II, pp. 43, 44.
100 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II p. 321.
101 *Ibid.*, p. 421.
102 Bernier, p. 369.
103 Fryer, Vol. I, p. 249.

in the city day and night and it had a considerable garrison".[104] The governor and the *kotwal* were responsible for such securities. According to English factors, the Governor, the captain of the castle and *kotwal* of Surat were cashiered by Emperor Aurangzeb, after Shivaji's attack.[105]

Much detail can be found in the European travelogues about the preparations made by the authorities of the towns of Ahmadabad and Surat against the attack of Shivaji. The cooperation of the public was also sought, and money was realized from them. John Fryer says, "they are collecting an hundred thousand rupees till their wall be finished...besides European gunners at every gate, which are six in number, besides 36 bastions with half a dozen great guns a piece; upon the top they have piled spiked timber to annoy the scalers. Every gate is barbed with iron spikes to break the rushing in of the elephants; these also are under a district command".[106]

Hygiene facilities under the *kotwal*

Hygiene and sanitation was also entrusted to the *kotwal*. These included the sprinkling of water on and general cleanliness of public streets, lanes, markets and other important public places. In addition to these measures, for controlling epidemics and taking other precautions to prevent their spreading were also undertaken by the *kotwal*. John Marshall referring to the epidemic in Patna says, "Here in Pattana dying about 100 per day.... The coatwall... causeth all the dead corps to be cast into Ganges every morning".[107]

The sweepers used to clean the public roads but private arrangements were made by tenants, 'each house paying them something monthly, according to its size'.[108] The sweepers, called '*Halalkhors*' were occupied in removing the refuse from houses and made use of asses to carry the sweepings from the houses to the fields.[109] For the general cleanliness of the streets, lanes and market places, the *kotwal* used to organize a team of sweepers who were deputed to different sectors of the towns.

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104 Mandelslo, p. 26.

105 *E.F.I.* (1661-64), pp. 310, 311.

106 Fryer, Vol. I, p. 249; Abbe Carre, p. 148; De Laet p. 20, who says about Ahmadabad, "the gates of this city are strictly guarded and no one can come in or go out without the governor's permission". Finch, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 63, All these precautions were taken against the attack of the neighbouring chiefs.

107 Marshall, p. 127.

108 Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 186.

109 *Ibid.*

Manrique was surprised to see the cleanliness of the streets and markets of Lahore.[110] Drains were used for carrying away waste water from city. These were connected with some adjoining rivers. In Agra, a few drains dating from the time of Mughals are still traceable.

In towns, there was no regular service for sprinkling water on the roads but there are references to the streets being watered,[111] when the king passed through one. Sweepers were allotted separate quarters outside the city, a practice dating from of ancient India. *Ain*, referring to the *kotwal's* duties, says "He should allot separate quarters to butchers, hunters of animals, washers of the dead and sweepers ... ".[112] The cemeteries were located outside the city.[113] Similarly, the Hindus burnt their dead outside the city.[114] The slaughter houses also were located outside the city.[115]

Public lighting arrangements were inadequate. The palace gates, forts, castles and the gates of the nobles' residences and some of the government offices like the *'chabutra-i-kotwali'* and *chowkis* were the only places which were lighted regularly. In addition to these, some of the important centers, i.e. the central place of the city like *'chowks'*, *maidan* or squares and markets places were lighted. William Finch speaking about the *maidan* in front of the castle of Surat says, "the Medon, which is a pleasant greene, in the middest, where of is a Maypole to hang a light on, and for other pastimes on great festivals".[116] Arrangements were made for the lighting and illumination of cities on important occasions, like festivals. As mentioned in *Ain*, "He (*kotwal*) shall have lamp lit on the night of the *Nauroz* and on the night of 19th of *Farwardin*".[117]

Chabutra-i-kotwali

The building possessed by the *kotwal* for his office and residence was known as *'imarat-i-kotwali'*. It was usually situated in the middle of the town or bordering the main road near the *chauk* (cross roads).[118] It contained the *chabutra* (or *chotra*), a

110 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 188.
111 Bernier, p. 280.
112 *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 45.
113 Nicholas Downton, *The Voyage of Nicholas Downton to the East Indies*, 1614-1615, London, 1812, p. 113; *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 45.
114 Fryer, Vol. I, p. 255; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, pp. 33-34.
115 *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 60.
116 Finch, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 27.
117 *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 45; *Mir'at*, Vol. I, p. 145.
118 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 12.

raised platform in form in front[119]; the *bandikhana*[120] (prison) and a few store rooms used for keeping temporarily the *mahsul* collected at *chabutra*, the stolen and contraband goods brought to the market for sale but seized by the men of *kotwal*[121] and the intestate property and unclaimed articles found on the road.[122] The subordinate officials attached to the *kotwali* sat with their wooden boxes in front in these rooms.[123]

The *chabutra-i-kotwali* served purposes of different sorts. First and foremost, it was the *kotwal's* office (*kachehri*). After attending the court of justice or public audience, if any, called by the Emperor or the *subahadar*, the *kotwal* mostly used to sit during the day at the *chabutra*[124] and discharge his primary duties. Here, he was attended by a large number of peons (*piyadas*) and horsemen, armed with swords, lances, bows and arrows, fetters and lashes, iron rods and whips.[125] At the *chabutra-i-kotwali*, a large crowd of men could be seen throughout the day for various reasons. Some came to lodge complaints,[126] while others just to receive a person just released.[127] Some of them were there to get an accused released on bail.[128] The strangers from outside of the town came there for seeking entry into the town.[129] Then there were prisoners coming and going to the court of justice[130] and some of the people were there just as spectators gathered to see an accused punished.[131]

Several kinds of punishments used to be inflicted at the *chabutra-i-kotwali* and in the presence of the *kotwal*. The punishments, stretching from relatively light e.g. receiving few whips,[132] to the severe capital punishment depended upon the offences and the law applied to them.

Fryer mentions about an instance of punishment where, fifteen highway robbers "were advanced... half a foot from the ground; and then cutting their legs off

119 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 12; *Mir'at*, Vol. I, pp. 251-52.
120 *Mir'at*, Vol. I, p. 251.
121 *Ibid.*, p. 144.
122 *Ibid.*, p. 145.
123 *Mir'at* (Suppl.), p. 153.
124 *Mir'at*, Vol. I, pp. 144-46; *A'in.*, Vol. I, pp. 284-5.
125 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 27; Ovington, p 137; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, pp. 295-96; *Mir''at* (Suppl.), p. 153.
126 Pieter Van Den Brocke, pp. 205-06.
127 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 199, Manucci, was released on bail given by a Hindu.
128 *Letter received*,Vol. I, p. 277.
129 *Mir'at*, Vol. I, p. 251.
130 *Ibid.*
131 *Ma'asir-i-'alamgiri*, p. 243.
132 *E.F.I.* (1624-29), p. 258.

that the blood might flow from them, they left them miserable spectacles, hanging till they dropped of their own accord".[133]

The cells around the *chabutra* were used as *bandikhana* where all the guilty persons, whatever their crimes, were locked up.[134] The confinement of prisoners here was of a temporary nature, except for such accused as were sent by the *nazim* or by the *qazi*.[135] They were kept in a lock up until a judgement was pronounced for them. Otherwise, those guilty of minor crimes were normally released after three days.[136] The *bandikhana* was looked after by a *bandiwan* (Jailor).[137] Prisoners of status could be allowed to get a bed to sleep on and even food to eat from outside.[138]

In big cities the *chabutra-i-kotwali* constituted a separate *mahal*, and the taxes or *mahsul* collected there together with that of a number of *mahals* (collectively known as *mahalat-i-sa'ir*) formed a part of the entire *jama'jami* of the city.[139] Sales-tax was also collected in the *chabutra-i-kotwali*.[140]

At Ahmadabad, the income from the betel-leaf market amounting to 1,14,000 *dams* was attached to the *kotwali*. [141] There are numerous complaints on record with regard to the *rahdhari* (road tolls) collected at the *chabutra-i-kotwali*.[142]

"The cotwall (*kotwal*) had somethings to ease betle" writes the English factors from Ahmadabad, "soe wee agree with him for 25 rupees, besides somethinge that his follower had, which I could noe ways shunne, it brings a custom that all which comes in the common prisons must paye or have their clothes torne from their backs".[143] The *mushrif* was treasurer appointed by imperial *sanad*, bearing the seal of the imperial *diwan*, upon the recommendation of the provincial *diwan*.[144]

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133 Fryer, Vol. I, p. 244.
134 Manrique, Vol. I, pp. 421-2; *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 113, 326; Peter Mundy, Vol. I, p. 285; *Mir'at*, Vol. I, pp. 251-52.
135 Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 366; Fryer, Vol. I, p. 246.
136 Manrique, Vol. II, pp. 250-51; Ovington, p. 137; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 184-86.
137 Monserrate, p. 206; Manrique, Vol. I, p. 422.
138 Manrique, Vol. I, pp. 421-24.
139 *Mir'at*, Vol. I, p. 248.
140 *Ibid.*, p. 233.
141 *Mir'at* (suppl.), p. 157.
142 *Mir'at*, Vol. I, pp. 232-35.
143 *E.F.I.* (1622-23), p. 73; *Ibid.* (1624-29), pp. 282-83; Manrique, Vol. II, p. 250-51.
144 *Mir'at* (suppl.), p. 154.

There used to be several *piyadas* (peons) posted at the *chabutra-i-kotwali.* Their main function was that of watch and ward, and of rendering assistance in the collection of taxes. They were always to be the back and call of the *kotwal.*[145]

Faujdar

Maintenance of law and order was recognized as the first duty of the government.[146] While the governor had the duty of maintaining law and order in the province (*suba*), at the next lower level; either coincidental with the *sarkar* or with jurisdictions colliding across *sarkar* boundaries, it was the *faujdar* who responsible to fulfil this task. He was held responsible for all thefts and dacoities committed in places lying within his jurisdiction.[147]

The *Mir'at* refers to the appointment of the *faujdar-i-grid* of *pargana Haweli*, Ahmadabad for the protection and administration of the suburbs and the adjoining areas.[148] He was appointed by the *nazim-i-suba* of Ahmadabad and was paid Rs. 20,000 per annum.[149] The *faujdar* heard both kinds of cases, criminal (*faujdari*) and revenue (*diwani*).[150] Another duty of the *faujdar* was to patrol the highways leading to and from the cities.[151]

Thana and Thanadar

Thana is the term given to the enclosed quarters or a fort where cavalry, infantry, musketeers and cross-bow men were posted for preservation of law and order, so that the travellers and the inhabitants might live peacefully and undisturbed by evil-doers (criminals) and robbers.[152] *Thanas* were established everywhere in disturbed areas and around the cities.[153] The principal objectives behind establishing *thanas* were to maintain law and order, to check thefts and robbery,[154] to protect roads,[155] to communicate news, to arrange the supply of food grains and other

145 Fryer, Vol. I, p. 249; Manrique, Vol. II, p. 137.
146 *A'in*, Vol. I, pp. 289-94.
147 Finch, *Early Travels*, p. 157; Thevenot; *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 50; Oington, p. 139.
148 *Mir'at* (suppl.), p. 145.
149 *Ibid.*
150 *E.F.I.* (1678-84), p. 555.
151 Finch, *Early Travels*, p. 157; Ovington, p. 139
152 *Mir'at* (suppl.), p. 146.
153 Tuzuk, pp. 287-88.
154 *Mir'at* (suppl.), p .146.
155 *Ibid.*

commodities for the royal army when on campaign, to help the collection of revenue and to regulate the supply of essentials by providing protection to *banjaras* and merchants. The chief of the *thana* was known as *thanadar*. He was appointed by the emperor at the recommendation of the *nazim* and *diwan.*[156] Sometimes the *thanadar* was appointed directly by governor.[157] The *thanadar* was an immediate subordinate of the *faujdar* and carried out his order.[158] The establishment of *thanas* around the city had great leading to and from the city. It was perhaps for this reason that around *pargana Haweli*, Ahmadabad there were 32 *thanas* from which strict watch was kept over those who the city or came out.[159]

Qila and Qila'dar

Almost all the major and large towns had a *qila* (fort). The commandant of the fort was known as *qila'dar*. He was appointed directly from the imperial court[160] and was independent of the governor, the *faujdar* or the *mutasaddi* (in case of Surat).[161] In the administration of the town, the *qiladar* did not directly come into the picture. However, when the *faujdar* or the *mutasaddi* or whosoever held authority over the city was outside the town or the under orders of transfer, the *qiladar* was asked to officiate as a temporary head of administration of the town.[162]

Muhtasib

The officer appointed to guard public morals was known as *muhtasib*. The *muhtasib* for the city and the town were appointed from the *sadr's* office according to the royal *sanad*. The *muhtasib's* personal rank is that of 250, and he has 10 horsemen, receiving also the assistance of some cavalry and infantry from the *nazim* to help him to execute the commandments and prohibitions of the laws. He also supervises weights and measures, etc. The *muhtasib* for the towns receive cash and land suited to the conditions of those places.[163] For the records of the period, it appears that the *muhtasib* had to perform two kinds of duties – religious and secular. The *muhtasib*,

156 *Mir'at* (suppl.), p. 147.
157 *Ibid.*, p. 181.
158 *Mir'at* (suppl.), pp. 168, 170, 173, 174, 177.
159 *Ibid.*, p. 146.
160 William Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls: Its Organization and Administration*, New Delhi, 1962, p. 269; Ovington, pp. 130-31.
161 Hamilton, p. 321; Thomas Best, p. 28.
162 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), pp. 101, 145, 208.
163 *Mir'at* (suppl.), p. 149.

along with his staff, kept a watch over drinking, prostitution and public morality. Under Auranzeb, the *muhtasib* became a very influential official in town administration. Syed Baqir was appointed to the post of a *muhtasib* of the city of Ahmadabad. Twenty-five as monthly charity to the langar (*khana*) and sixteen rupees as provisions for six footmen were sanctioned as salary from the public treasury of Ahmadabad.[164]

Intelligence

The functionaries through which central government obtained news of the whole empire were the *waqa'-i-navis*, the *sawanih-nigar*, the *khufia-navis* and the *harkaras*.[165] They acted as secret agents or spies for the emperor or the administration. The first three used to send written reports while, the last was essentially a courier, who brought oral, and at times written reports.[166] The *waqa'-i-navis* was sent once a week[167], *sawanih* twice a month[168], and the *akhbar* of the *harkara* once a month.[169] However, urgent matters were required to be reported immediately.[170] *Sawanih-nigar*, who was sometimes known as *khufia-navis*[171], reported secretly[172] and the *harkara*, the most trustworthy of all the reporters conveyed secret news as well.[173] The *waqa'-i-navis* was appointed by the order of the emperor, through royal and sometimes bearing the seal of the *wazir*.[174] The *sawanih-nigar* was appointed through the instrumentality of the imperial *darogha-i-dak*.[175] The *harkaras* were appointed by the chief superintendent of *harkaras* (*darogah-i-harkarahai-i-kull*)".[176]

These intelligence officers and their agents were posted throughout the empire, at the imperial capital, headquarters of the provinces, *sarkars* and *parganas*,

164 *Mir'at*, Vol. I, p. 260.
165 *Mir'at* (suppl.) pp. 150, 152.
166 J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 61.
167 *Mir'at* (suppl.), p. 150.
168 *Ibid.*
169 *Ibid.*
170 *Ibid.*
171 *Ibid.*
172 *Ibid.*
173 *Ibid.*
174 *Ibid.*, p. 148.
175 *Ibid.*, p. 150.
176 *Ibid.*, p. 152.

ports, forts, army camps, courts of princess, mansions of nobles, various courts of justice, the *chabutra-i-kotwali* and market places.[177]

In a discourse with the English factors the *mutasaddi* of Surat showed his fear of the *waqa'-i-navis* who could report to the emperor against him.[178] However, there are also a large number of cases when the writers of *waqa'-i-navis* and *sawanih* and the *harkaras* were bribed by the local officials not to send or to refrain from sending the actual news. The *waqa'-i-navis*[179] posted in every big town, reported to the emperor, all that transpired in the provinces. Shahjahan "upheld the maxim of his father that true justice must be enforced rewarding the meritorious and punishing the guilty. He kept his eye on his officials, punishing them rigorously when they fell short in their duty".[180]

Port administration

The administration of a port town differed from the administration of an ordinary town. Trade through waterways, whether national or international, was a major source of revenue during the Mughal period. This revenue came from the custom duty, levied on merchandise imported or exported by the sea, which was collected at the port. With the conquest of Gujarat, Bengal, Orissa and Golkonda a number of ports lying in those provinces came into the possession of the Mughals. This made it although more important to have an appropriate framework for the administration of the ports, and remained under a different department with separate officers in charge of it. The chief officer was called the '*shahbandar*', as that of *kotwals*, in the town, but his post was more honourable and more lucrative than that of the *kotwal*.[181] According to *Mira't-i-Ahmadi*, and *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, the officer in charge of the port was the *mutasaddi*[182], who was called the collector of the port,[183] and it seems that both these titles were in use for the port officer. The collector of port was appointed by the governor.[184] He had a large staff consisting of various clerks,

177 *Mir'at*, (Suppl.), pp. 149-50.
178 *E.F.I.* (New series) Vol. III, p. 310.
179 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 26.
180 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p. 167.
181 Fryer, Vol. I, p. 247.
182 *Mir'at* (suppl.) p.167; *Letters received*, Vol. II, pp. 157-8; *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 271; Hawkins, *Early Travels* pp. 63, 71; Thomas Best, p. 20.
183 *Mir'at*, (Suppl.), p. 24.
184 Mandelslo, p. 2; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 38; *Mir'at*, (Suppl.), p. 214.

daroghas, guards, peons, waiters, porters and so on who helped the port officer in discharging the duties of the department.[185] His office was situated near the seashore, which had a large hall and a warehouse, where merchandise was collected for clearance. The office remained open from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m.[186] He could be dismissed or transferred, reduced in *mansab* or down-graded on the complaint of merchants of the port against misuse of authority and tyranny[187] and finally, failure to discharge duties properly.[188] He was paid either in cash or through assignment.[189]

Port Officer or *Mutasaddi*

The port officer was appointed to fulfil the task of obtaining the custom duties and to prevent smuggling. He also deputed various guards, or sentries, to important points for keeping a strict watch over the port.[190] The accounts of different foreign travellers, who visited the ports, indicate at the efficient functioning of this particular department. The first duty of the captain of the newly arrived vessel was to report to the custom officials and get the vessels registered.[191] In case the office was closed then they had to wait till the opening of the office next day, but in the meantime, the custom officials deputed guards and sentries to watch the movements of the passengers.[192] On the opening of the office, goods and passengers were brought from the vessels in the boats and on the backs of the porters of the custom department,[193] to custom offices, where they were searched thoroughly, while the guards were strengthened.[194] The searches were made in the custom hall in the presence of the chief officer, and the names of the passengers were registered with the clerk of the department.[195]

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185 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 38; *Mir'at*, (Suppl.), p. 154. It refers to the inspection of the merchandise of imports and exports by the officials.

186 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 2; Finch, p. 28.

187 There are a large number of cases when the *mutasaddis* were removed on general complaints either by merchants or residents of the port. For the dismissal of Ghiyasuddin Khan at the complaint of merchants headed by *Mirza Muazzam*, a rich merchant of Surat, *E.F.I.* (1670-77), pp. 283-84. *Masihuzzaman* was transferred for no other reason except that he got Virji Vohra imprisoned. Virji Vohra was the principal merchant of the city. *Ibid.* (1637-41), Intro. p. XVI.

188 *Mir'at*, Vol. I, pp. 203-04.

189 *E.F.I.* (1634-36), Intro, p. XV.

190 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 3, Fryer, Vol. I, p. 247.

191 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 2.

192 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

193 *Ibid.*

194 *Ibid.*

195 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

None of the ships could enter or leave the harbour, load or unload cargo unless he issued a permit.[196] Nor could the goods imported by sea be carried into the country unless the king's seal was affixed on it, and was duly passed and the custom paid in the custom house.[197] The foreign merchants who wished to land and carry on their trade had to approach him for permission.[198] The supervision of the custom house such as checking of the goods, persons and collection of custom dues comprised his primary responsibilities.[199] Another key duty was to make sure that nobody, either the importer or the exporter evades the payment of their custom dues.[200] Thus, he had almost, complete authority over the market administration, mint and the collection of land revenue from the *parganas* attached to the *sarkar*. Nothing could be sold and purchased in the markets of the port town without his knowledge.[201] Several times following a quarrel with the English, the *mutasaddi* at Surat forbade everybody in the market to sell anything to them.[202]

Thevenot, while describing the thorough searches at the port says, "the passengers enter into that place one after another, and but one at a time. Presently they write down in a register the name of him that enters, and then he is searched. He must take off his cap or turban, his girdle, shoes, stocking and all the rest of his clothes, if the searches think fit. They feel his body all over; and handle every the least inch of stuff about him with all exactness if they perceive anything hard..."[203] After the person searches the baggage, other merchandise were detained and deposited in the warehouse[204], on which custom duty was charged. After this the passengers were allowed to go out by the wicket gate opening on the street where two guards were posted who allowed passage only on the orders of the officers.[205] To check and

196 *Letters received*, Vol. II, p. 258; *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 270-71; *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 78-81; *E.F.I.* (1630-33); Intro. pp. XXV, 157; Thomas Best, p. 20.

197 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 38; *Letters received*, Vol. VI, pp. 78-81; Fryer, Vol. I, p. 247; *E.F.I.* (1661-64), p. 15; Pieter Van Dan Broeke, p. 210.

198 Hawkins, *Early Travels*, p. 71.

199 *Letters received*, Vol. IV, p. 78; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 163; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 11.

200 *Letters received*, Vol. IV, p. 78.

201 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), pp. 121, 151.

202 *Letters received*, Vol. IV, pp. 78-81, 83-85.

203 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 3; Mandelslo, p. 2; Pietro Della Valle, *The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India*, trans. Edward Grey, Hakluyt Society, 2 Vols., London, 1892, Vol. I, p. 24; Edward Carlyon, p. 38, who says, "coming, then to the gate of Surat we must needs through the custom house where the customers are so strict that they must perform search in all my pockets as well as my trunks and nails".

204 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 3; *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 169.

205 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 3.

discourage smuggling, all possible means were adopted. Thevenot, speaking about it, says, "These peons of the custom house have great caves in their hands to keep off the people with that those who come ashore may not have the least communication with anybody; and for the greater security, they draw upon both sides, and make a lane for the passengers".[206] Every effort was made to prevent malpractices by the staff at these ports.[207] When complaints were received enquiries were made and culprits punished.

According to the *Mir'at,* the *mutasaddi* at Surat and Cambay, besides the above office, also hold the office of the *faujdar* and *thanedar* around the ports.[208] For the defence of the port and town, he maintained strong military contingents,[209] strengthened fortifications[210] and sometimes went out to defend the other ports lying within his jurisdiction.[211] He patrolled the coastal areas and was expected to keep a vigilant eye on the sea upto two leagues beyond the harbor, which lay within his jurisdiction.[212]

Although town officials such as the *kotwal, qazi, muhtasib* and *waqa'-i-navis* were not directly under his authority, they had yet to obey him in certain matters. On several occasions, the *kotwal* of Surat at the instance of the *mutasaddi* had to be arrested or put under confinement such merchants as dared defy his orders.[213] He could ask the *kotwal* to close the city gates so that no one could go out of the city.[214] With the help of the *kotwal,* weavers and labourers were made to work for him.[215] In the case of robbery, the *qazi* sided with the *mutasaddi*.[216] He was usually afraid of the news reporter (*waqa'-i-navis*), for he could send report to the headquarters. But the

206 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri,* p. 2; Fryer, Vol. I, p. 247.
207 *E.F.I.* Vol. I, pp. 133, 308.
208 For *mutasaddigiri* and *faujdari* of Surat both held by one man, see *Mir'at,* Vol. I, pp. 229, 234, 312; For Cambay *Ibid.,* (suppl.), p. 193.
209 *Mir'at* (suppl.), pp.187-88.
210 *Mir'at,* Vol. I, pp. 256-57.
211 Hawkin, *Early Travels,* p. 71; *Letters received,* Vol. I, p. 150; *Ibid.,* Vol. II, p. 261.
212 *E.F.I.* (1678-84), p. 343.
213 Following a quarrel with the English over certain guns purchased by the *mutassadi,* the former were put to house arrest for 125 days by the orders of the latter, *E.F.I.* (1661-64), pp. 13-14; *Ibid.,*. (New series) Vol. II, p. 312.
214 By the orders of the Surat governor (*mutsaddi)* all the Europeans were confined within the city wall. For, it was reported that certain 'hat's men' had taken the ship of 'Abdul Ghafur (1691), Ovington, p. 239.
215 At Cambay weavers were prohibited by the *mutasaddi* neither to work for English nor to sell to them any cloth. *E.F.I.* (1622-23), p. 169. At Broach also weavers were forbidden to sell their *baftas* to anybody until the *mutasaddi's* demands had been met, *Ibid.* (1661-64), pp. 19-20.
216 *Ibid.* (1618-21), p. 21.

waqa'-i-navis before submitting his dispatch had to show it to the *mutasaddi*.[217] Normally, he would consult the above officials on all important matters relating to the port administration.[218]

On behalf of the government, the *mutasaddi* appeared as the chief purchaser in the *mandi* or bazar and made purchases of horses, corn, arms, and rarities for the emperor.[219] He used to have charge of government treasury.[220] He even acted as chief negotiator on behalf of the government with regard to the entire foreign trade[221] by sea, and supervised the annual presents and pilgrim trips to Arabia.[222] The cart men and porters could not be engaged by any merchant for transport if he so chose,[223] following a quarrel with the foreign merchants, he could force the brokers and labourers not to work for them.[224]

It was through the *mutasaddi* that the government mercantile policy was executed. All important announcements and decisions were made public by him through sounding drums and by putting posters at walls.[225] He helped to fix the market rates by selling the values of goods in the customhouse.

The *mutasaddis* of Surat often enjoyed additional offices and held control of the ports of Cambay, Broach and Gogha in addition to the port of Surat.[226] They had their sons and relatives to work as customers at the above ports.[227] This was a source of much misuse of authority. The sons, who knew that their father would manage to protect them in their misdeeds freely indulged in corruption and practiced open tyranny. Commenting on the misuse of authority being practiced by the son of Inayat Khan, the *mutasaddi*, the Dutch chief at Surat wrote, in a letter dated 20th Sept. 1663,

217 *E.F.I.* (1678-84), p. 310. In one instance, Kartalab Khan, the *mutasaddi* of Surat, had to bribe the courier, doubting that he might report matters to the Emperor correctly, *Mir'at,* Vol. I, p. 321.

218 Ovington, pp. 136-7.

219 *Letters received*, Vol. II, p. 179.

220 *Mir'at*, Vol. I, pp. 225-30.

221 *Letters received*, Vol. II, pp. 157-8.

222 *Mir'at* (suppl.), p. 213.

223 *E.F.I.* (1655-60), p. 315.

224 *Ibid.* (16722-28), p. 169.

225 For announcement of important decisions, news and declarations, posters used to be set up at the doors of the customhouse and at other public places, *E.F.I.* (1655-60), p. 209; *Ibid.*, (1661-69), p. 209.; For announcement through beating drums, William Hedges, *The Diary of William Hedges During His Agency in Bengal*, with notes by R. Barlow, edited by Henry Yule in Three Vols., Hakluyt Society, London, 1887-89, Vol. I, p. 38.

226 Even in case of Hugli and Qasimbazar, there was one *mutasaddi* (chief) customer, to administrator both the ports, see Diary of William Hedges, I, p. 52.

227 When Mustafa Khan was *mutasaddi* of Surat (1660-63), he sent his son to act as customer at the customhouse of the above port, *E.F.I.* (1661-64), pp. 203-05.

"The merchants have suffered many affronts from the new governor's son, who had been made head of the customhouse and arrogated to himself so much authority that one would have thought that he was in his father's place". Complaints were jointly made by the Dutch and the English to the governor (*mutasaddi*) who expressed sorrow; made excuses and promised better treatment in future.[228] Muqarrab Khan (1608-16) was the *mutassaddi* of Cambay. However, when Hawkins arrived at Surat (August 1608) he found him in charge of both Surat and Cambay ports. Hawkins called him, "viceroy of Cambay and Surat".[229] Thereafter, in the English Factor's letters, he has been continuously mentioned as controlling the affairs at the two ports.[230] He continued as 'Governor' till 1616.[231] During his term as *mutasaddi*, he is reported to have indulged in private trade on a large scale.[232]

In one case, the *mutasaddi* was warned by Sha'ista Khan, governor of Ahmadabad, for unnecessarily detaining Tavernier at Surat, and was told, "either to allow him (Tavernier) to depart, or otherwise he would have to resign.[233]

Our sources do not clearly tell us whether the *mutasaddi* was superior in authority to the *qiladar*. At Surat, both are referred to by the Europeans as governors, since one of them governed the city and received customs on behalf of the government, and the other commanded the castle.[234] They were apparently independent of each other.[235]

Shahbandar

The official whose main concern was the collection of customs at the port was the *shahbandar* (harbour master). He acted as the deputy (*na'ib*) of the *mutasaddi*.[236] He was the chief of the custom house. In the absence of the *mutasaddi*, he has complete

228 *E.F.I.* (1661-64), p. 206.
229 *Purchas*, Vol. III, p. 29.
230 *Letters received*, Vol. I, pp. 23, 24, 26, 33, 138-40, 175-76; *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 96, 138, 149, 150, 171; *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 5, 20, 22, 29, 31, 37 ; *Ibid.*,. Vol. IV, pp. 202, 292, 312-13, 324.
231 *Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 78, 80, 138; Nicholas Downton, p. 8.
232 *Letters Received*, Vol. I, p. 307.
233 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 409.
234 *E.F.I.* (1622-23), p. XXVIII; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 27; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 6; Ovington, p. 136.
235 Fryer, Vol. I, pp. 248-49; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 27.
236 Hawkins, *Early Travels*, pp. 71-72; *Letters Received*, Vol. I, p. 150; *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 261, 298; *E.F.I.* (1630-33), p. 99. *Ibid.* (1655-60), p. 3125; The Diary of William Hedges, Vol. I, p. 82.

control over all matters related to customs. The European variously called him *darogha* (of the custom house), *shahbandar* and customer.[237]

In view of the many duties and responsibilities assigned to him, the *mutasaddi* was not always present at the customhouse where the work actually was done and routine management was looked after by the *shahbandar*. He checked the goods and searched the passengers, estimated the value of the goods at market rate and collected the custom. The goods already checked were released after having been stamped with the king's seal.[238] The daily account of the customhouse, wherein were written the particulars of goods, passengers, income and expenditure, was prepared under his supervision and submitted to the *mutasaddi*. He, however, had delegated powers and could not act on his own. For example, he could not permit any foreign ship to enter the harbour, to load and unload cargo or any stranger to land and open business, unless required to do so by the *mutasaddi*. However, there are reports that whenever the *na'ib-mutasaddi* had a chance, he not only misused his authority but also embezzled government money.

I'timad Khan, the *nai'b-mutassaddi* of Cambay, in the absence of Amanat Khan, who was the *mutasaddi* both of Surat and Cambay, was reported to have practiced many abuses and embezzled Rs. 1,345 from the revenue of the Gogha port. He was dismissed from service.[239]

Other officials at the port, working under the *mutasaddi* were the *mushrif*, *tahsildar*, *darogha-i-khizana* and *muqim* appointed directly from the imperial headquarters. They were the clerks of the customhouse who assisted the customer to dispose of the customhouse business.[240] They collected custom dues, kept the treasury and maintained custom registers, both in Persian and Gujarati ('Banyan', 'Baniani'),[241] in which the daily accounts of goods and passengers passed. The amount collected on account of customs and other items of income and expenditure were entered.[242] These officials could also be engaged in searing and checking

237 Pieter van Den Broeke, p. 215; Fryer, I, pp 247-48; Hawkin, *Early Travels*, p. 72; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 38; *E.F.I.* (1646-50), p. 120 & n; *Ibid.*, (1656-60) p. 81.

238 For strictness in these matters, see Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 11; *Letters Received*, Vol. IV, pp. 78-81, 320; *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p 187-88; *Ibid.* (1622-23), pp. 309-12.

239 *Mir'at*, Vol. I, p. 352.

240 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, pp. 3, 38; *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 232.

241 *E.F.I.* (1630-33), pp 153-34.

242 *Ibid.*, p. 116.

goods[243]; and at times their help could be sought for valuation of goods and assessment of custom.[244]

The waiters, porters and peons mentioned by the Europeans were called *piyadas*.[245] A large number of them were engaged by the government on its account, while others were hired by passengers and merchants.[246] They performed different jobs, some of them acting as watchmen inside the customhouse, at gates and in the harbour,[247] while many others were employed to bring the men and goods on their backs, from the dock to the customhouse.[248] Large revenue accrued to the Mughal Empire from the customs collected at the customhouse. The annual revenue from the port of Hugly[249] in 1683 was Rs. 75000. From Surat,[250] in 1642, it was Rs. 2,50,000 and from Cambay[251] in 1571 was Rs. 4,00,000.

The walled enclosure which housed the Mahal was situated close to the landing point. It was called custom house and by other names by the European.[252] Each port usually had one customhouse. It usually had two gates; one great gate and other smaller. The former opened towards the sea and had a broad and spacious courtyard in the front, while the latter opened into the bazar.[253] When a boat or ship approached the customhouse, it was stopped in knee-deep water by the custom officials through means of signals.[254] The passengers and their goods were carried ashore by porters.[255] The passengers along with their goods were then led to the large courtyard and thence to the big hall of the customhouse where the actual search was carried out.[256] The customhouse usually never opened before ten in the morning and the search of passengers and their baggage continued till noon.[257] The passengers

243 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 3.
244 *Ibid.*
245 *Ibid.*, p. 38 According to him they were 'Moors' (Muslims).
246 *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.
247 *Ibid.*, p. 3.
248 *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.
249 Hedges, Vol. I, p. 61.
250 *Mira't.*, Vol. I, p. 219.
251 M.N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat*, London, 1976, p. 23.
252 The customhouse has been variously called the '*Alfandica*'; Letter Received, IV p. 320; Finch, *Early Travels*, pp. 134-35; '*Dogana*' Pietro Della Valle, Vol. I, p. 23; 'Choquidar' (Manrique, Vol. II, p. 236). The Persian historians use the word 'Furza', see *Mir'at* (suppl.) pp. 184, 212-13.
253 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 3; Hawkins, *Early Travels*, p 63.
254 *Ibid.*, pp. 1-3, when any ship approached the bar, it too, was required to give signals of its arrival by gun-shots, see Abbe Carre, Vol. I, p. 166.
255 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, pp. 1-3.
256 *Ibid.*
257 . *Ibid.*,p. 3; Pietro Della Valle, I, p. 23.

entered one after another.[258] The clerks at the instance of the chief customer (*mutasaddi*) or *shahbandar* wrote down the particulars of the passenger's person as well his goods in a register; he was then thoroughly searched.[259] The passenger had to take off his cap or turban, his girdle, shoes, stocking and clothing. Every part of the body was searched. His goods were turned over several times and everything was ripped open.[260] The vigorous search usually took more than a quarter of an hour per person.[261]

Immediately after a ship approached the bar, the master of the ship was obliged to come ashore in his own boat to acquaint the custom authorities of the ship's arrival and to give a statement of her cargo and passengers abroad.[262] The master was himself subjected to thorough search;[263]and immediately a 'waiter' (so called by the English factors) was sent to abroad the vessel to prevent the passengers from breaking the bulk packages and carrying away anything or putting abroad another ship that had already been searched.[264] In the meantime, if enough time was left before closing the customhouse, several boats could be sent to bring men and goods ashore.[265]

When the custom house opened, a large number of waiters (peons and *piyadas*) were to be seen there.[266] Some of them kept watch from the covered pavilion over all who went in and came out of the barks.[267] Others led passengers on to the quay one by one, while themselves with a cane in hand, they kept standing on both sides of the passage making a lane for the passengers to pass through.[268] Their main purpose was to keep the newly arrived passengers away from the people of the city as the latter might convey any kind of message to the former.[269] If, despite of this

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258 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 3.

259 *Ibid.*

260 Thomas Roe refers to the "custom of the king's officers to search everything that came ashore, even the pockets of man's clothes on their backs for customs". *The Embassy*, p. 28-9. See also Pietro Della Valle, I, pp. 23-24; Tavernier, Vol. I, p 7; Thevenot p. 4; Hamilton, p. 321.

261 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 4.

262 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

263 *Ibid.*

264 *Ibid.*

265 *Ibid.*

266 *Ibid.*

267 *Ibid.*

268 *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

269 *Ibid.*

strictness, anyone tried to approach the new-comers, he was liable to be flogged and fined.[270]

Illicit activities for the evasion of the custom duties were a common practice at the ports.[271] If "they (merchants) who have a mind to conceal anything and defraud the customhouse" says Thevenot "order their affairs more truly (much earlier), they stay not till they come to Surat, there to beg the assistance of their friends. I have known some bring in a great many precious stones, and other jewels, which the officers of the customhouse never saw, nor got one fathering by".[272] But those who were caught were severely punished.[273] For officers, if any of them was found party to it, death was usual punishment.[274] For merchants, Fryer mentioned the "punishment being corporal, not confiscation of goods".[275] However evasion and malpractices could not be rooted out.[276]

The rates of anchor fee are not mentioned. However in an English factors letter from Bombay it is stated to be 0.5 percent.[277]

Between Cambay and Surat,[278] the rate for an insured ship en-route from Mokha to Surat (1643) was at a rate of 3%. But later on when the ship became involved in an adverse wind and its arrival at Surat delayed and its safety become doubtful, the rate was increased to 30%.[279] The goods were being insured at 3% between Surat and Mokha (1644).[280] For a consignment of sugar being insured from Surat to Gombroon at a rate was of 2¾% (1649).[281] For delivery of coins ('checkeens') insured from Calicut to Surat (1665) was at a rate of 4½%.[282]

The official rate for the custom charges at all ports in theory remained 2½% on all goods imported or exported, except bullion which paid only 2%.[283] The

270 *Ibid.*
271 *E.F.I.* (1624-29), pp 236, 321; *Ibid.* (1630-33), pp. 142-43, 153-54, 157, 186-87, 211, 249, 271, 274, 276; *Ibid,* (1634-36), pp. 33, 165, 213, 258.
272 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 3.
273 *E.F.I.* (1624-29), p. 163.
274 *Ibid.*, (1665-67), p. 9.
275 Fryer, Vol. I, pp. 247-48.
276 *E.F.I.* (1665-67), p. 9.
277 *Ibid.* (1670-77), p. 159.
278 *Ibid.* (1622-23), pp. xi, 101.
279 *Ibid.* (1642-45), p. 92.
280 *Ibid.*, p. 161, n.1.
281 *Ibid.*, (1646-50), p. 259.
282 *Ibid.*, (1664-67), p. 100.
283 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 7.

merchants, however, actually had to pay more in practice. According to *A'in.*, the custom duty did not exceed 2½.[284] Jahangir is reported to have similarly warned that it should not be more than one in forty (or 2½%).[285] William Finch, who arrived at Surat in 1608, found that the customs amounted to "two and half for goods, three for victuals, and two for money".[286] But subsequent statements suggest that sometime in the year 1611-12 custom charges were increased to 3½%[287], in the name of the customer's 'brokage' or *dasturi.*[288] An interesting reference about the customs can be found in the account of Ralph Fitch, where he mentions about a peculiar rule for customs a Goa. He says, "all merchandise carried to Goa in a shippe where in are horses, pay no customs in Goa. The horses pay custome, the goods pay nothing; but if you come in a ship which bringeth no horses, you are then to pay eight in the hundred for your goods".[289]

The rates were increased during the seventeenth century, but not to an excessively high level. When Thevenot and Tavernier visited India, the customs ranged from 4 to 5 per cent.[290] At Masulipatam in 1616, the rates ranged from 3½ to 5 per cent.[291]

The rate of 3½% continued up to 1664. It was only in that year, following Shivaji's attack on Surat, Aurangzeb reduced custom duty by ½% for the Dutch and the English as a mark of favour on account of their services in the defence of the port. Later on, the reduction was made applicable to other merchants also.[292] But it is

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284 *A'in.*, Vol. I, p. 204.

285 *Tuzuk,* pp. 206-07.

286 Finch, *Early Travels*, p. 134; *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 28.

287 Thomas Best, who came to Surat in 1612, says that an agreement was made according to which "all English commodities shall pay custom, according to the value or price that it beareth at the time of that it is put into the customhouse, after the rate of three and hale of the hundred". *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 126; Pelsaert (p. 24), visiting India during the later years of Jahangir, says that "custom duties are here three and half per cent on all imports and exports and two percent on money either gold or silver". The earlier letters of English factors also confirm that custom charges at Surat were 3½% Letter Received, III, p. 5; *E.F.I.* (1624-29), p. 92.

288 According to another letter from the English factors at Surat, dated 1616, it was reported that although the official rate stood on 2½%, they (custom officials) changed one per cent more for the customer's brokerage, and in that levy the natives were exempted. To quote, "in this examination we had in question our customer and find that the inhabitants do pay 2½% custom and no other duty; the portugals and other strangers, besides the said custom, do pay one per cent extorted, which they call the customer's brokage" (Letters Received, IV, p. 331; *E.F.I.* (1624-29) p. 92). All the Europeans took great objection to the increase of the custom by 1% Pieter Van Den Brocke, p. 2.

289 Fitch, *Early Travels*, p. 12.

290 Thevenot, p. 7; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 7.

291 *Letters Received*, Vol. IV, p. 28.

292 *E.F.I.* (1661-64), pp. 314-15.

significant that the reduction was made only in the official rate, i.e. from 2½% to 2%. The levy of additional 1% on foreigners in the name of *dasturi* continued.[293] Two years later (in 1666), Aurangzeb fixed the duty at 2½% on goods belonging to Muslims and 5% on Hindus throughout the empire.[294] The Europeans were to pay 3½% and those belonging to the ports of hostile powers (*harbi*) required to pay 4%.[295]

In 1667, the Dutch and a little later the English sought a reduction in the rate of customs.[296] The requests were granted and custom duty was lowered from 3½% to 2%.[297] But from the letters of the English factors it appears that the above reduction was short-lived. For, when again pressed by the port officials, Aungier, the English president at Surat (1675), in consultation with his council and on the advice of the principal merchants, decided, that the general rate should be fixed at 3½% including 1% voluntary contribution towards the fortification of the port.[298] This was agreed to by the government and for the rest of Aurangzeb's reign, this rate remained in force.[299]

It can thus be safely said that throughout our period the minimum custom rates remained 2½% on all goods excepting bullion which only paid 2%. But the officers of the customhouse could charge more than the scheduled rate under one pretext or the other. Sometimes they charged one per cent in the name of the customer's brokage or *dasturi*.

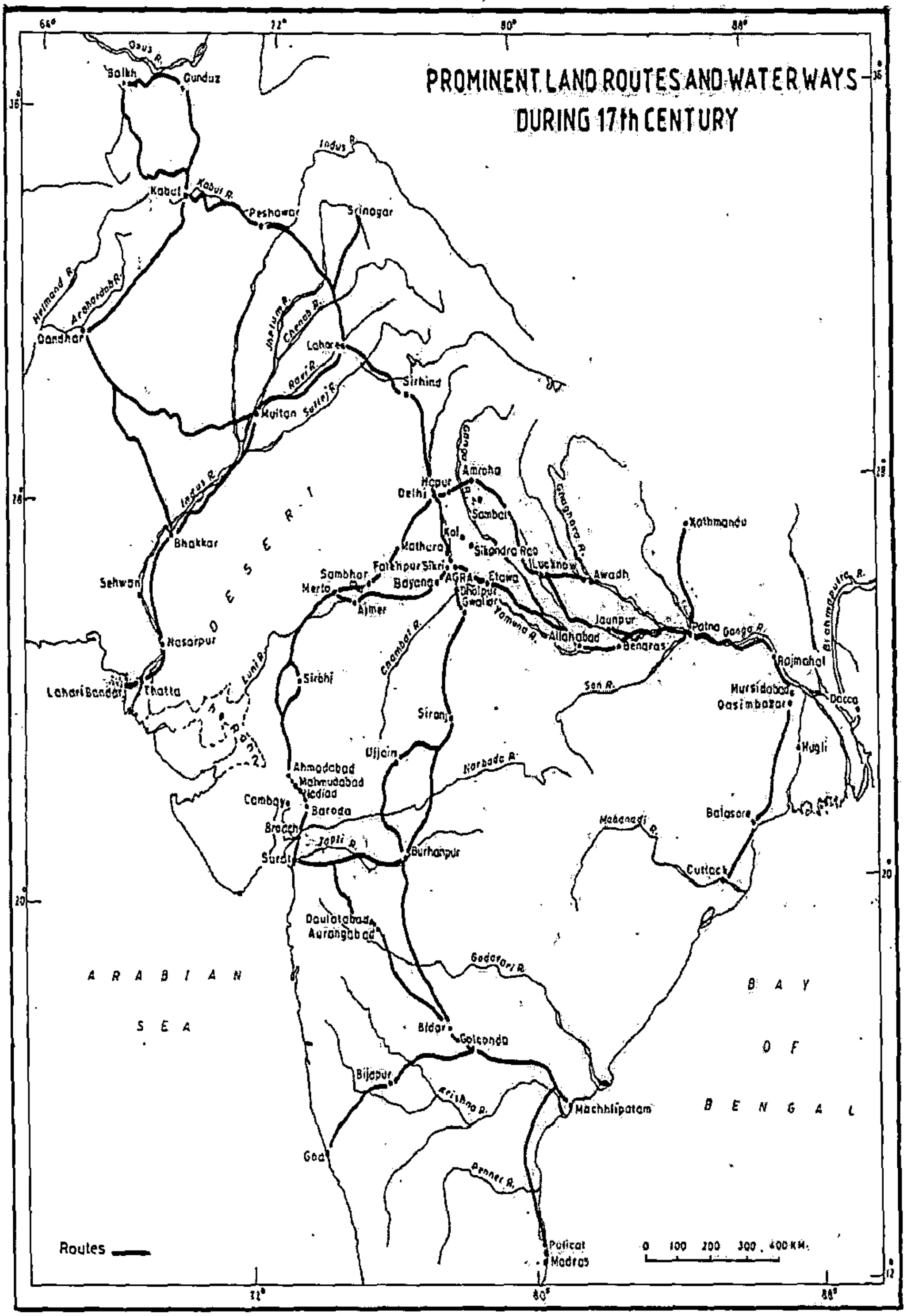
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293 *E.F.I.* (1665-67), p. 315.
294 *Mir'at*, Vol. I, pp. 256-59.
295 *Ibid.* (suppl), pp. 179, 182.
296 *E.F.I.* (1665-67), pp. 273-74.
297 *Ibid.* (1668-69), pp. 35, 116, 228.
298 *Ibid.* (1670-77), p. 119.
299 *The Diary of William Hedges*, Vol. I, p. 101.

Chapter IV

Trade Routes and Means of Transport & Communication

Map II



(*Based on Irfan Habib's Mughal Atlas*)

The growth of a country is largely based on its economic condition, which is the summation of the individual economic condition of its towns. The trade routes and the facilities of communication played a key role in connecting the Mughal towns internally, along with enabling trade with foreign countries. These trade routes also served the purpose of law and order and administration. Some of the Major trade routes are illustrated in Map II.

The medieval Indian towns were interconnected, through a massive network of roadways which were also connected to some of the neighbouring countries. These roads were generally used for transportation of commercial goods. Many of the important trading towns were located within the vicinity of major trade routes of near a key trade route junction.

Most of the European travellers, such as Tavernier, Manucci, Thevenot, William Finch, John Jourdain, Thomas Coryat and Careri devote considerable attention to the popular trade routes during the seventeenth century.

Ralph Fitch (1583-91 A.D.) has described the following route. The whole journey took him five months. "Masulipatan – Bengala – Bellapore – Barrampore (Burhanpur) – Mandoa (Mandu) – Ujjain – Gwalior – Agra – Prague (Allahabad) – Bannaras – Patenaw (Patna) – Tanda".[1]

Ralph Fitch describes a route from Tripolis in Syria to Aleppo, down the Eupherates and the Tigris to Ormuz, and the Ormuz to Chaul (a port near Bombay).

John Mildenhall (1599-1606 A.D.) has describes the route from London to Qandahar. The description of this overland route is important as it has been described in detail by him.

"London – Zante – Cio (Scio) – Smyrna – Constantinople – Scanderone (Alexandretta) – Bitelio – Yan – Nacschin – Chiulfal (Julfa) – Sultania – Casbin (Kazvin) in Persia – Com (Kum) – Casham – Yesd – Curman – Sigistan (The old name of Seistan in eastern Persia) – Candhar – Multan – Agra". [2] The common route from west to the east was from Venice to Aleppo, then to Ormuz and to Surat.

1 Fitch, *Hakluyts Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Samuel Purchas, London, 1625; pub. James MacLehose, Glasgow, 20 Vols., 1905, Vol. X, pp. 172-81.

2 Mildenhall, *Early Travels*, pp. 53-54.

William Finch (1608-11) has described several trade routes. He has decribed routes from Surat to Agra (via Burhanpur), Agra to Ahmedabad, Agra to Lahore (via Sirhind, Panipat) and Lahore to Kabul.

Surat to Agra (Via Burhanpur)

Surat – Kambaria – Mota – Karod – Curka – Narayanpur – Daita – Bhadwar – Nandurbar – Nimgul – Singh-khira – Thalner – Chopra – Aravad – Raver – Burhanpur – Boargaon – Ambala – Magargaon – Balkher – Tarapur – Akbarpur – Lunera – Dipalpur – Ujjain – Kanasia – Sunera – Pipalgaon – Saranpur – Kakaswar-Bora – Barrai – Suksarai – Sironj – Kachnir-Sarai – Shah Dawra – Kalabagh – Kulharas – Sipri – Narwar – Paraich – Anri – Gawaliar – Mundia khera – Jaju – Agra.[3]

Agra to Ahmedabad

Agra – Fatehpur Sikri – Sikanderabad – Hinduan – Chadergaon – Mughal Sarai – Nonnigaon – Ujjain – Japda – Chastu – Ladana – Muzabad – Bandar-i-Sikander – Ajmir – Mirtha – Pipra – Jogi-ka-gaon – Khan-dap – Jalor – Modra – Bhinmall – Radhanpur – Ahmadabad.[4]

Agra to Lahore (via Sirhind, Karnal and Panipat)

Sultanpur – Gowindawar – Jaipal – Bhairowal – Kamran garden – Sarai-Amanat Khan – Kanchani ka Pul – Hoshiar Nagar – Shahganj – Lahore. [5]

Lahore to Kabul

Lahore – Kach-cha Sarai – Aminabad – Chima-Gakkar – Gujarat – Khawaspur – Rohtas – Hatya – Pakka – Rawalpindi – Kala-Pani – Hasan Abdal-Altak – Pishawar – Ali Masjid – Daka – Basawal – Barika – Ali Bhogan – Jalalabad – Loure-Charbage- Mimla – Gamdamak – Surkhab - Jagdalak – Ab-i-Bariki – Doabak Bikrami – Kabul.[6] He describes another route from Lahore to Kashmir. Lahore – Gujarat – Bhimbar – Peckly – Conowa – Cassimer (Kashmir)[7]

John Jourdain (1608-1617) has described two routes, one from Surat to Agra via Burhanpur and other from Agra to Kambayat via Ahmedabad.

3 Finch, *Early Travels*, pp. 136-46.
4 *Ibid.*, pp. 173-74.
5 *Ibid.*, pp. 155-60.
6 *Ibid.*, pp. 167-68.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 169.

Surat to Agra (via Burhanpur)

Surat – Khumbaria – Mota – Karod – Viara – Korka – Narayanpur – Daita – Badove – Nandurbar – Lingal – Sinkerry – Talner (Thalner) – Chuppera (Chopra) – Rawde (Aravad) – Bewell (Bayawal) – Raure (Raver) – Badorpur –Burhanpur – Assier (Asir) – Magar Ganga (Magargaon) – Kergange (Khargaon) – Becull (Balkher) – Eccbarbore (Akbarpur) – Mando (Mandu) – Connyheir (Lunera) – Dolpor (Dipalpur) – Augen (Ujjain) – Conostia (Kanasia) – Sunearra (Sunera) – Pimpagang (Pipalgaon) – Sarampore (Sarangpur) – Cuckra (Kakaswar) – Delute – Burrou (Brrai) – Sukerra (Suksarai) – Saarange (Sironj) – Cuchinarque Sarraya (Kachnir-Sarai) – Sadura (Shah Dawra) – Colly bagh (Kalabagh) – Chipprie (Sipri) – Guallier (Gawaliar) – Narwa (Narwar) – Gullica (Bhitawar) – Autro (Antri) – Mandabar – Daulpore (Dholpur) – Jarowe (Jaju) – Agra.[8]

Agra to Kambayat (via Ajmer)

Agra – Crowley (Karawali) – Fettypore (Fatehpur Sikri) – Primaboda – Scandra (Sikandra) – Hindone (Hinduan) – Lulsi – Jampeth (Jampdo) – Churse (Chuksu) – Luddayana (Ladana) – Muzaban (Muizzabad) – Sittill (Kichil) – Asmierre (Ajmir) – Crowe(Curao) – Mertta (Mertha) – Bergee – Handolla – Goodpore (Jodhpur) – Donnara (Dundara) – Tundacke – Conducke (Khandap) – Imburnia (Bharwani) – Gilburd(Jalor) – Ingebar – Meerghee (Modra) – Beerwall (Bhinmal) – Gundawe – Coorga – Sarrand – Bannopp – Sarimpore – Serarpoore – Semmee (Sami) – Scolconpore (Sandhalpur) – Hogeepore (Hajipur) – Ahmadaver (Ahmadabad).[9]

Thomas Coryat (1612-1617) mentioned the route from London to Constantinople and then to Aleppo. From Aleppo to Agra, the route takes 10 months.

Aleppo – Diarbekr – Tabriz – Kazvin – Ispahan – Kandhar – Multan – Lahore – Delhi – Agra.

The routes from Aurangabad to Hyderabad, Burhanpur to Hyderabad and Surat to Aurangabad have been referred in the account of Thevenot.[10]

Abbe Carre describes the routes from, Bijapur to Hyderabad, Chaul to Goa and Madras to Hyderabad.[11]

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8 Jourdain, pp. 142-47.
9 *Ibid.*
10 Thevenot., *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, pp. 102-03, 108-10, 150-51.
11 Abbe Carre, Vol. I, pp. 187-207, 221-70, 317-26; Vol. II, pp. 77, 353.

De Laet has described the route from Agra to Jaunpur.[12]

Mandelslo describes the route which he took in 1638 to come to India: Ispahan – Persepolis – Shiraz – Gambroon – Surat.[13]

Jean Baptiste Tavernier in his "*Travels in India*" says that Surat to Agra via Ahmadabad takes thirty five to forty days.[14] He describes the routes from Kandhar to Agra via Kabul and Multan. Though the latter route (via Multan) is shorter than the former by ten days journey, but the Caravans scarcely ever take it because, from Kandahar to Multan is a country side almost all the way and one must march sometime for three or four days without meeting water.[15] He mentions the Ispahan (in Persia) to Agra route and says the journey falls into one hundred and fifty stages.

Ispahan – Farah – Kandhar – Kabul – Lahore – Delhi – Agra.[16]

Tavernier also describes two routes of great importance:

One from Surat – Khumbaria – Viara – Bardoli – Narayanpur – Pimpalner – Nampur – Patna – Sakora – Wakla – Deogaon – Dolatabad – Aurangabad – Nander – Patona – Kakeri – Sitanagar – Santapuri – Satanagar – Golconda[17]; and the other from Golkonda – Tinara – Jatenagar – Patengy – Pungul – Nogelpar – Lakabaron - Bezwada – Nedumula – Masulipatam.[18]

The first route goes from West to South and the other links it with the east which was well connected with the North and West.

These routes between Surat and Golconda and Golconda to Masulipatam became important on account of the activities of Mughals in the Deccan.

Tavernier described the route from Surat to Agra via Burhanpur and Sironj. He says, "There are but two roads from Surat to Agra, one by Burhanpur and Sironj and the other by Ahmadabad".[19]

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12 De Laet, pp. 64-65.
13 Mandelslo, p. IX.
14 Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, translated by V. Ball, 2nd edition revised by W. Crooke, in Two Vols., London, 1925,first Indian edition, 1977, Vol. I, p. 73.
15 *Ibid.*
16 *Ibid.*, p. 73.
17 *Ibid*, pp. 116-19.
18 *Ibid*, pp. 139-41.
19 *Ibid*, p. 40.

Surat – Barnoly – Ballor – Kirka – Narayanpur – Nandurbar – Sinkheda – Thalner – Chopra – Sankli – Raver – Balleda – Burhanpur – Piombi-sera – Pander – Balki sera – Nevelki sera – Chusemba – Chenipour – Charoua – Bichola – Andy (Handia)[20] – Tumri – Nau Sarai – Jchhawar – Sihor – Shaikhpura – Duraiba – Hathiyakheda – Dilod – Sironj – Mughal Sarai – Palki Sarai – Kachnor Ki Sarai – Shah Dawra – Kalabagh – Akmate – Kolaras – Sipri – Dongri – Dungri Ghat – Narwar – Barki Sarai – Antri – Gwalior – Pater ki Sarai – Kunwari ki Sarai – Dholpur – Mania ki Sarai – Jaju Bridge – Agra.[21]

Route from Surat to Agra by Ahmedabad

Surat – (Broach – Camey – Dantawada – Sayyidabad – Ahmadabad) – Broach – Baroda – Nadid – Ahmadabad – Pansar – Nehsana – Sidhpur – Bhinmal – Modera – Jalor – Khandap – Sitalwana – Palasnahi – Pipar – Merta – Bharunda – Kuchhel – Bandar-sindri – Chaksu – Lohwan – Hindaun – Bayana – Fatehpur sikri – Agra.[22]

Route from Delhi to Agra

Delhi – Ballabhgarh – Palwal – Kosi – Shaikh ki Sarai – Shah ki Sarai – Mahura – Good ki Sarai – Agra.[23]

Route from Agra to Patna and Dacca

Agra – Ferozabad – Sarai-Murlidas – Etawah – Ajitmall – Sikandra – Sankla Jamwala – Ghatampur – Saadulla-ki-Sarai – Jagdis Sarai – Ahirbans ki Sarai – Benares – Patna – Bhagalpur – Borregangel – Rajmahal – Donapur – Kasim Bazar – Hogli – Suti – Tartipur – Hazrahat – Jatrapore(Jatrapur) – Dacca.[24]

Peter Mundy describes the same route from Agra to Patna in different stages as:

Agra – Ferozabad – Shikohabad – Jaswantnagar – Etawa – Bakhar khanpur – Janaki Sarai – Sikandra – Bhognipur – Shankar ki Sarai – Ghatampur – Bara Mahal ki Sarai – Ahirbans ki Sarai – Jagdis ki Sarai – Mohan Sarai – Benares – Patna.[25]

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20 Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India,* trans. William Irvine, 4 Vols., Indian Text Series, London, 1907, Vol. I, p. 66, he mentioned Handia as an old Muhammadan town in the Hoshangabad district.

21 Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 40-53.

22 *Ibid.*, pp. 54-73.

23 *Ibid.*. p. 85.

24 *Ibid.*, pp. 92-105.

25 Mundy, Vol II, p. 109.

Route from Surat to Goa and from Goa to Golkonda by Bijapur

According to Tavernier, "Travellers can go from Surat to Goa, partly by land and partly by sea, but the road is very bad by land, especially from Daman to Rajapur. Most travellers prefer the sea route, and hiring an almadier (a ferry boat, *al-ma-diya*), which is a kind of row boat, they go from point to point, up to Goa.[26]

Route from Surat to Goa

Surat – Daman – Bassien – Chal – Dabhol – Rajapur – Vengurla – Goa. This makes in all, 61 cos.[27]

Alternate Route from Surat to Goa

Goa – Bicholi – Bijapur – Golkonda.[28]

Route from Masulipatam by Cochin

Tavernier has described the route from Goa to Masulipatam via Cochin[29] and route from Masulipatam to Gandikota[30] and route from Gandikota to Golkonda.[31]

The account of **Manrique**[32] gives a description fo the route from Multan to Qandhar which was also supported by other sources.[33] The stages are described as follows: Multan – Sakhi Sarwar – Chacha Chotiali – Duki – Shikhota – Harnai – Khost – Abdaun (Ahmadun) – Fushanj (Fushang) – Qandhar. The distance from Multan to Qandhar was 213 kos.

Thus, it is evident from the routes mentioned by the travellers that, all the key cities of the Mughal India during the 17th century were located near the junction of or on prominent trade routes. For example, Agra was connected by trade routes with the towns of Patna and Dacca in the Eastern provinces[34], with Rajputana and Gujarat in the west[35], with the towns of Punjab, Sindh in the north-west[36], and with the towns of

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26 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 142.
27 *Ibid.*
28 *Ibid.*, p. 146
29 *Ibid.*, pp. 187-206.
30 *Ibid.*, pp. 207-27.
31 *Ibid.*, pp. 235-44.
32 Manrique, pp. 255-66.
33 *Purchas*, Vol. IV, 270-72.
34 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 92-105; Mundy, Vol. II, p. 109.
35 Jourdain, pp. 142-47; Finch, pp. 173-74; Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 54-73; Mundy, Vol. II, pp. 225-42; Fitch, *Purchas*, Vol. X, pp. 172-81.
36 Finch, pp. 155-60 & 167-68; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 73; *E.F.I.* (1632-41), p. 134.

Malwa and Deccan[37] in the South. Hence, it can be said that Agra was located at the conjunction of the majority of the cross-country trade routes, as a result of which, most of the foreign trade of the hinterland passed through the imperial city. Pelsaert mentioning Agra's importance says, "The situation of the city is at the junction of all the roads from the distant countries. All goods must pass this way from Gujrat, Tatta (or Sind), from Kabul, Kandhar or Multan, to the Deccan; from Deccan to Burhanpur to those places or to Lahore; and from Bengal and the whole East country; there are no practicable alternative routes, and the roads carry indiscernible quantities of merchandise, especially cotton goods".[38] Thus, the city catered to the demands of local, regional, national and international markets and became an important collecting and distribution centre for retail as well as wholesale trade.

These were the major trade routes connecting to the capital city of the Mughal Empire. There were other routes, such as the Agra – Kannauj – Lucknow route described by Finch and the Agra – Kol route travelled by Mundy[39]; but these appear to have been less important.

Another prominent town of Mughal India, Delhi, was linked by a network of roads[40] to the important cities in various parts of the Empire; like Agra, Lahore, Ajmer, Ahmedabad, Kol (Aligarh) and Benaras.

Ahmedabad was connected the trade routes with every part of the country.[41] The important towns like Lahore, Thatta, Delhi, Agra, Ajmer, Surat, Burhanpur, Benaras, Patna and Dacca were linked to Ahmedabad, the capital of the Gujarat province through commercial trade routes.

Burhanpur was situated at the junction of the trade routes[42] approaching from Agra, Surat, Ahmedabad, Bijapur and Golconda. Mandu[43] and Ujjain[44] were situated

37 Finch, pp. 136-46; Jourdain, p. 142-47; Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 40-53, 116-19, 139-41.

38 Pelsaert, p. 6.

39 Finch, Early Travels, p. 175.

40 De Laet, pp. 64-68; Finch, pp. 155-60, 167-68; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 85; Richard Steele and John Crowther, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, pp. 268-69; *Ain*, Vol. II, p. 152; E.F.I. (1632-41), p. 134; Thomas Coryat, Early Travels, p. 236.

41 Pelsaert, pp. 19, 71, According to him, it was connected with Lahore, Kashmir, Bengal and Agra or say from all sides of the country; Fitch, pp. 136-38; De Laet, pp. 65-67; Jourdain, p. 52; Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia*, edited by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Vol. II, entitled '*Travels in Asia*' Hakluyt Society, London, 1914, pp. 225-66; Withington, *Early Travels*, pp. 191-206.

42 Finch, pp. 136-46, 173-74; Jourdain, pp. 142-47; Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 40-53, 146; De Laet, pp. 64-65.

43 Fitch, *Purchas*, Vol. X, pp. 172-81; Finch, *Early Travels*, pp. 136-46.

44 Finch, Early Travels, pp. 136-46, 173-74; Fitch, *Purchas*, Vol. X, pp. 172-81.

on one of the main highways from Agra to Burhanpur route and were also linked with Ahmedabad and Ajmer. Ajmer stood on the Agra – Ahmedabad, Agra – Cambay and Delhi – Ahmedabad route.[45]

Surat was connected with roads[46] with the towns of Deccan, through Burhanpur, Northern India and Sindh via Ahmedabad and served as a centre of various commodities which formed major centres of Indian exports.

Lahore was connected by great roads[47] with Delhi, Agra, Multan, Thatta and Kashmir and also connected by roads with Kabul and Qandhar. Multan was a terminal for caravans from Persia via Qandhar and other towns of different provinces and regions of Mughal India.[48]

From Thatta, another route went toward Agra.[49] Irfan Habib mentions in his Atlas about the land route from Multan to Bhakkar thence to Thatta.[50]

Similarly, the towns of eastern provinces were well connected with different regions by trade routes. Allahabad was located on the main highway[51] from Agra to Dacca and was connected by road with Jaunpur. Patna was located on the main commercial highway[52] of northern India. It has been rightly called 'The Great Gate that opened into Bengal.'[53] Rajmahal was linked by road with Dacca and Patna, and other towns of the Eastern region like Hugli, Balasore, Ghorighat and Murshidabad, which were all located on important trade routes.

Benaras also enjoyed the advantage of convenient land routes. Peter Mundy informs us that emperor Jahangir had ordered a road to be built from Patna to Agra for the comfort of the travellers.[54]

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45 Finch, Early Travels, pp. 173-74; Jourdain, pp. 142-47; Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 54-73, 85; De Laet, pp. 65-67, Mundy, pp. 225-42; Fitch, *Purchas*, Vol. X, pp. 172-81; Withington, *Early Travels*, pp. 191-93.

46 De Laet, p. 65; Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 54-73; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, pp. 102-03, 150-51; Mundy, pp. 225-72; Withington, *Early Travels*, pp. 191-95.

47 Finch, Early Travels, pp. 155-60, 167-69; De Laet, p. 69; Richard Steele and John Crowther, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, pp. 268-69; *E.F.I.* (1632-41), p. 134; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 73, he has given eighteen stages from Delhi to Lahore; J. Rannell, *Memoir of a Map of Hindustan*, p. 323; Thomas Coryat, p. 236.

48 De Laet, p. 69; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 73; Richard Steele and John Crowther, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, pp. 268-69; *E.F.I.* (1632-41), p. 134.

49 Hawkins, *Early Travels*, p. 100.

50 Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, New Delhi, 1982, p. 15.

51 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 95.

52 *Ibid*, p. 101.

53 Thomas Bowrey, *A Geographical Account of Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, 1669 to 1679, ed. R.C. Temple, Cambridge, 1905, p. 221

54 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 83.

The contemporary European travellers' accounts give a vivid description of the facilities available for easy travel on the trade routes. The highways were kept in good condition and safe from robbers. Trees were planted along the roads and *sarais* and rest-houses were built for the travellers was adorned with a double line of trees like a pleasant promenade. Tavernier observed, "...that throughout India the greater part of the roads are like avenues of trees, and those which have not trees planted have at every 500 paces small pieces of stone which the inhabitants of the nearest village are bound to whiten from time to time..."[55]

Thomas Coryat speaking about the road from Lahore to Agra, says, "It was good and planted along its sides with rows of trees".[56] These highways were sometimes lined with shady trees in both sides planted no doubt either directly by the state or else by some wealthy philanthropists. Such shady roads were known as *khayaban* or avenues.[57] Thus the twelve miles long road running between Agra and Fatehpur Sikri was lined on both sides with shady trees and market of victuals and other things, indeed the whole area appeared so thriving and populas as though one were still in a town.[58] According to William Finch, "From Agra to Lahore, six hundred miles, the way is set on both sides with Mulberry trees".[59] Thomas Roe describes the beauty of the Agra to Lahore course in a pretty similar fashion, says, "from Agra to Lahore being here hundred and twentie course, which is not less than seven hundred miles, it all plain, and the highway planted on both sides with trees like a delicate walk: It is one of the great works and wonders of world".[60]

Mundy travelled on the Patna to Agra road and noticed that the route was covered with shady trees on either side, "each at a distance of 8 to 10 steps and the rank from side to side about 40".[61] Manrique[62] and Kindersley[63] used this route and from their description it appears that later on though not usable by carts, the only mode of conveyance of goods during the rains[64], and not as comfortable as the Agra –

55 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 292; De Laet, p. 11.
56 Thomas Coryat, p. 244.
57 *Ibid.*
58 Ralph Fitch, , *England's Pioneer to India and Burma,* ed. J.H. Ryley, London, 1899, p. 98.
59 William Finch, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 75; Richard Steele and Crowther, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p.268.
60 Thomas Roe, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 432; Thomas Coryat, *Early Travels*, p. 283-84; P. Mundy, Vol. II, p. 83-84; Edward Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 293.
61 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 83.
62 Manrique, Vol. II, p. vii.
63 Kindersley, p. 105.
64 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 258.

Lahore highway, it was nevertheless fairly good. Manrique for instance, travelling by Ox-driven carts had found the road level and the surrounding areas studded with habitations. The large towns and small villages along it were much frequented by travellers.

As Tavernier noted, travel conditions in India under the Mughals were Not less comfortable than in France or Italy in his days... But the remark, however, was true only of the better roads, especially the wide imperial highways, with their avenues of mulberry trees, wells, distance markets and caravansaries at every ten *kos*. But not all Roads were so well provided and no roads was easily negotiable round the year. The road surface were badly neglected and reduced to mud during the monsoons; carts using the roads after the rains had to cut fresh trucks with their wheels. Writing in the month of August in 1632, Mundy described the passage between Allahabad and Benares, part of the imperial highway as "'verie badd...for the abundance of water, bad way and uneven ground".[65]

In Orissa, Manrique had to make his way through mud and swamps and could not cover even seven leagues in a day. At such times, Oxen had to be used instead of carts, because the ditches and reservoirs used for irrigations obstructed the passage of wheeled traffic everywhere.[66] The roads were narrow and if travellers had the misfortune to meet a caravan of pack-oxen, they were obliged to wait two to three days. On his journey from Harshaur to Balasore in Orissa, Manrique mentions that "there were neither boats nor bridges on most of the rivers he had to cross; in one day he crossed eleven, swollen by monsoon showers wading breast deep through the rapid currents".[67] In the Rajputana desert, carts were liable to get stuck in the deep sand and travelling was easier when the gound was hardened by rain.[68]

Caravansarais

Although, the trade route by the road-ways were established during the seventeenth century, there were several aspects which needed to be addressed to make trade and commuting more convenient for the merchants and the travellers, the highways had to safe and secure from theives and highwaymen, availability of water

65 Mundy, Vol. II, pp. 99, 298.
66 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 105.
67 *Ibid*, Vol. 2, p. 98.
68 Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 32-33; Mundy, Vol. II, pp. 99, 298; Manrique, Vol. II, pp. 98, 105; Bernier, p. 380; Fitch, *Early Travels*, p. 225; Jourdain, p. 147.

and affordable lodging all along the routes which would allow the travellers and merchants to make comfortable halts in the course of their journey.[69] Thus, as the routes became more prominent several state-run *sarais* were developed at certain fixed stages of the journey.[70] These *sarais* provided extra safety to the travellers along with being affordable.[71] Generally *sarais* need to be furnished with lodgings, mosques, wells and separate board for Muslims and Hindus.[72]

Between Agra to Lahore route, *sarais* were situated at every five or six *kos*.[73] On this road Jahangir built mile-posts of every *kos*, so that way-farers might travel in ease and contentment and not endure hardships from thirst and the heat of the sun.[74] The road from Agra to Lahore extended towards Kabul.[75]

Between Ajmer and Agra route, as mentioned by Nicholas Withington, "*serais* were built at every ten *kos*, or place of lodging for man and horse. Between these places at every *kos* end is a great pillar erected".[76]

Emperor Jahangir had like wise planted shady trees on Agra-Bengal and Agra-Attock routes in order to provide some shelter to the tired travellers from the blazing sun.[77] On the Agra-Ajmer route, wells were dug at every *kos*.[78] While, most of these were ordinary ones, some were the step wells which provided both shelter and water to the weary travellers.

In Surat, Fryer mentions, "three other places for strangers called caravan serawes, or Inns, intended by the Donars gratis, but since perverted and let out to foreigners".[79]

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69 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p. 68, He says, "All the highways were dotted with *sarais*."; Roe, *The Embassy*, Vol. I, p. 90n; John Fryer, *Travels in India in the Seventeenth Century*, by Sir Thomas Roe and Dr. John Fryer, London, 1873, p. 290.

70 Manrique, Vol. II, pp. 90-100; De Laet, p. 55; T. Coryat, Early Travels, pp. 283-84.

71 N. Withington, *Early Travels*, p. 225; Downton, pp. 105, 318.

72 Bernier, p. 233.

73 De Laet, p. 11; Finch, p. 75; Roe, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 432, Who was so much struck with wonder to see the arrangements that he mentions it as one of the great works and wonders of the world.; Crowther, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 268.

74 Terry, *Purchas*, Vol. IX, p. 15; De Laet, p. 11; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 96; Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* translated to English by Alexander Rogers, edited by Henry Beveridge in Two Vols., London, 1909-1914, Delhi, 1989, Vol. II, p. 100.

75 Finch, *Early Travels*, p. 51.

76 Withington, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 174; Finch, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 41; Pelsaert, p. 70; De Laet, p. 44.

77 Mundy, Vol. II, p. 84.

78 *A.N.*, Vol. III, p. 156; *Tuzuk*, Vol. II, p. 100.

79 Fryer, *Travels in India, p.* 290.

"We found this route" says Manrique with reference to the Agra-Patna route, "studded with habitations large towns and, small villages and much frequented by travellers. On this account it was well supplied with caramossoras".[80]

Thevenot mentioned the *sarais* very differently and wrote that they, above sixty in numbers, 'make the beauty of Agra'.[81]

Agra to Patna[82] and Lahore to Multan were closer to the ideal of a *sarais* at the end of each day's journey but the road from Agra to Surat through Rajasthan which had 'Scarce a sarae in eight or ten days journie'; and 'nothing soe good acommodation as there is from Agra towards Puttana'.[83] In a place like Orissa, far from the highroads of commerce, there were often no *sarais* at all. And even Burhanpur suffered from shortage of accommodation, when the army was encamped in the city.[84]

Safety and Security of Travellers on highway

For the safety and security of life and property of the travellers on the highways, a proper supervision of roads was made. The local *Faujdars* and governors were responsible for maintaining the peace and order in their territories and for the policing of the highways. The officers took every active measures against highwaymen, and for the security of the routes of Communication.

There were number of incidences of travellers being robbed on the highways, however adequate compensation was given to the victim travellers. Manucci rightly summing up the administration of the highways, says, "These *Faujdars* have to supervise the roads, and should any merchant or travellers be robbed in daylight, they are obliged to pay compensation. If robbed at night, it is the traveller's fault for not having halted earlier and he loses all, without his complaint being heard."[85] Generally the rules were very strict in preventing thefts and robberies and to keep the highways safe. Tavernier speaking in this context of Shah Jahan's reign says, "...the police was

80 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 146.
81 Thevenot, p. 48.
82 Mundy, Vol. I, p. 99.
83 *Ibid.*, p. 248.
84 Hawkins, *Early Travels, p.* 79.
85 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 451; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 47, According to him, "for night being come, and the gates closed, the governor of the place, who has to answer for thefts which occurs within jurisdiction, does not allow anyone to go out and (in the night) says that, it is king's order, which he must obey."

so strict... and particularly with reference to the safety of the roads, that there was never any necessity for executing a man for having committed theft".[86]

Manucci writes, "In every one is an official whose duty it is to close the gates at the going down of the sun... At six o'clock in the morning before opening the gates, the watchman gives three warnings to the travellers, crying in a loud voice that everyone must look after his own things. After these warnings, if anyone suspects that any of his property is missing, the doors are not opened until the lost thing is found. By this means they make sure having the thief and he is strung up opposite the Sarae". The travellers in Mughal India were, however, prepared for exigencies.[87]

Even where Inns were scarce and food was not available, the Indian Travellers, used to live in the open and cooking his own food, probably did not find the conditions too intolerable even in the more inhospitable areas.

According to Tavernier, "The great heats of India compel travellers, who are not accustomed to it to travel by night in order to rest by day, when they enter towns which are closed, they must leave by sunset; if they wish to take the roads".[88] Sometimes due to the insecurities of the highways, the travellers used to travel along with cafila and not alone.[89]

Alternative routes

There were some alternative routes available for some routes where there were complains of dangers of theft and robbery or natural obstacles. For example, English Factors complained of insecurity of Agra-Burhanpur road which passed via Handia as their merchants were plundered. But they mentions another route via Mandu, which was safe and which they took.[90] Agra and Surat were connected by alternative routes[91], one via Burhanpur and other via Ajmer[92] and Ahmedabad.

Although, the western route, from Agra to Surat, was available well before the central Indian route, It had its own share of disadvantages, such as less availability of

86 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 325.
87 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p. 68.
88 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 47.
89 Pietro Della Valle, *The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India*, trans. Edward Grey, Hakluyt Society, 2 Vols., London, 1892, Vol. I, p. 91.
90 *E.F.I.* (1622-23), p. 96.
91 Fitch, *Purchas*, Vol. X, pp. 172-81; De Laet, p. 65; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 40; Finch, *Early Travels*, pp. 136-146.
92 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 80-84.

water and grazing land and also less frequency of *caravansarais* because of long stretches of deserts. The carts of the travellers were also liable to get stuck because of the deep sands of the desert. This route also passed through semi- independent principalities and territories where certain fares or custom duties were induced upon the travellers. The long and empty solitary deserts also made it unsafe for the travellers, as for instances of theft and robbery were common in the desert, On the contrary the central Indian route, Agra to Surat via Burhanpur, was much safer. This route became more popular after the annexation of Khandesh by the Mughal Emperor Akbar in 1601 because of which there was no extra custom duties to be paid by the travellers on this route. The route ran south from Agra through Gwalior and Malwa to Burhanpur, and then turned west crossing the Khandesh plains into southern Gujrat. Since it ran through fertile and directly administered regions, it was well traversed and much safer from interference.[93] Apart from that, easy availablility of water and graze made it more convenient and cheaper to use. However as this route was intersected by many rivers, most of which were without bridges, navigating through this route during monsoon was nearly impracticable. During this season travelling was preferable through the western (desert) route as the ground was hardened by the rain.

Waterways

Alternative to the roadways, there were the river routes and the sea routes which provided a much safer and cheaper means of transport. As we study the medieval Indian towns, we find that many of the towns were founded owing to their location near a navigable river. Presence of many rivers and their tributaries proved to be a geographical advantage for the trade and commerce. Although the riverine routes were comparatively much slower than the roadways, this disadvantage was overshadowed by the prospect of transporting higher volumes of goods and the inexpensiveness of this means of transport. Apparently, even the international trade for bulk commodities and expensive items used the water ways as their medium.

The main north Indian water route was of course the Ganges, linking Allahabad to Rajmahal via Benaras and Patna. Beyond Rajmahal, trade goods moved to and from places like Malda, Hugli, and Dacca along the numerous tributaries and distributaries of the same river, while to the west, the Jamuna linked Allahabad to

93 Foster, Suppl. Calendar, p. 89; Irfan Habib, *Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Sheet 7B & n.

Agra and the distributaries of the Ganges helped maintain commercial links with remoter parts.[94]

Between Allahabad and Patna, and particularly in the stretch west of Benaras, the Ganges was fully navigable only during a part of the year; during and after the monsoons. In winter, the boats plied only between Patna and the riverine tracts of Bengal.[95] In the north-west, the Indus provided a lifeline for commerce for a more limited area between Lahore and the mouth of the river. Multan once had a considerable trade based on its proximity to the Indus, but by the mid-seventeenth century, the connecting channel had silted up in places lessening traffic and with the decline of Thatta, the goods formally sent there by river had to be carried overland to Surat.[96]

Lahore was situated on the bank of rivers Ravi.[97] The Ravi could carry a large trade in shallow drought vessels[98] of 600 tons and upwards[99] or as De Laet says, 60 *dolia*, and more.[100] Issuing from Kashmir and passing through Lahore, this river effected his confluence with river Sind at Multan and thence as far as Tatta served as the usual medium for the transport of goods.[101] Thus by means of this river, Lahore was connected with Kashmir at one end and Sind along with Multan at the other. These latter circumstances helped Lahore to overcome, at least partly, it's naturally land locked position by an easy riverine access to the Sind port of Lahari Bandar.[102] Therefore, apart from handling its own imports and exports,[103] Lahore acted as a medium for transmitting goods to and from Kashmir[104] and other regions lying contiguous to its eastern and western sides.

Similarly, Delhi[105] and Agra[106] flourished by the waters of river Jamuna. It flowing through the city of Agra[107] connected it with Sonargaon[108] in the east,

94 Tapan Raychaudhuri, *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, ed. Tapan Raychudhuri & Irfan Habib, New Delhi, reprinted edition, 2004, Vol. I, p. 337.
95 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 101.
96 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. III, p. 77.
97 Crowther, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 268; De Laet, p. 51.
98 Pelsaert, p. 31.
99 *E.F.I.* (1637-41), p. 135, mentioned 1000 to 2000 *maunds* in flat bottomed boats.
100 De Laet, p. 51.
101 *E.F.I.* (1637-41), p. 135.
102 Thomas Roe, *The Embassy of Thomas Roe to the court of Great Mughal, 1615-19*, ed. W. Foster, Hukluyt Society, London, 1899, Vol. II, p. 476.
103 *Ibid.*
104 De Laet, p. 51.
105 Finch, *Early Travels*, p. 156; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 96; Bernier, p. 245.

covering the entire area lying in between the two points. As Delhi is situated on the western bank of the same river, goods arriving at Agra from the east could easily be passed on to Delhi, this would further suggest that Delhi too had direct navigational link with its rich eastern provinces. The river was navigable throughout the year to boats up to 100 tons burthen.[109]

Agra was served by rivers Jamuna and Chambal, both of which, effected their influence at Kalpi.[110] Chambal was navigable[111] but the province gained much more by the navigability of Jamuna, which linked it with its eastern areas. This was one of the reasons that the river Jamuna was one of the major waterways. Salt, opium and carpets were sent to Patna and Bengal during the rains, the boats returned with Bengal merchandise during the rest of the year.[112] Goods thus transported were in substantial quantities.[113] River transport was also used for trade within the *suba.*[114] For these purposes, huge boats of three to four hundred tons each were used.[115] In the 1660's, the English explored the possibility of transporting the goods from Agra to Bengal through river transport, instead of taking them to Surat overland. But they abandoned the project as being uneconomical[116], since it would have substantialy increased the distance by sea.

The maintenance of his facility of transportation was highly profitable to both the provinces of Agra and Bengal: Agra and its neighbouring towns had thus gained easier access to markets whether internal or foreign for their surplus goods such as salt, lead, opium, iron[117], cotton[118], or finished products such as carpets[119] or other

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106 Jourdain, p. 162.
107 Pelsaert, p. 1.
108 Jourdain, p. 162; Ralph Fitch, *England's Pioneer to India and Burma(1583-91)*, ed. J. H. Ryley, London, 1899, p. 100.
109 Hamida Khatoon Naqvi, *Urbanisation and Urban Centres under the Great Mughals, 1556-1707*, Vol. I, Simla, 1971, p. 76.
110 *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 190.
111 Mundy, Vol. II, p. 63.
112 Fitch, p. 18; Mundy, Vol. II, p. 84; De Laet, pp. 77-78.
113 Fitch, p. 18, mentions, "I went from Agra to Satamgam in Bengala in the companie of one hundred and fourescrore boates".; Jourdain, p. 162., says that annually 10,000 tons' of salt alone was transported to Bengal from Agra on boats.
114 Mundy, Vol. II, p. 87.
115 *Ibid*, p. 89, says, "they are atleast 3-400 tons a peece; both ends extra ordinarie high.", p. 224.
116 *E.F.I.* (1661-64), pp. 371, 325, 402; *Ibid.*, (1665-67), p. 2.
117 R. Fitch, Ryley, p. 100.
118 Pelsaert, p. 9.
119 R. Fitch, Ryley, p. 100.

cotton fabrics. At times Agra dispatched flotillas of as many as 180 boats[120], full of indescribable merchandise.[121]

Benaras was connected by riverine routes with Patna, which in turn was linked up with Murshidabad, Hugli[122], Calcutta, Dacca and Satgaon.[123] The English observed that the current of the river from Patna towards the South-east was so strong that it could carry down frigates in five or six days, while, the up-coming voyage took thrice the time.[124] A large flat-bottomed boat called *Patella* with the capacity of four to six thousand mounds moved up and down between Hugli and Patna.[125] As this route by the same river extended up to the imperial cities of Agra and Delhi, the principal consumers of the region, the commercial traffic of patna and Benaras was greatly stimulated.

Fitch travelled from Agra to Satgaon "in the company of one hundred-and-four-score boats". These barges which carried salt and other commodities were 4 to 500 tons each.[126] At Rajmahal, Manrique found "over two thousand rowing vessels at anchor", "in regular streets as it were, thus making an attractive and beautiful city."[127] On the river Jamuna near Etawah, Mundy saw, "many great lighters (barges), such as area in Agra, each at least 3 to 400 tons.[128] From Agra to Bengal, "above 10,000 tonns of salte in great barges of 4 and 5 hundred tonns a peece".[129] The water transport was less expensive than inland transport. The relative costs are mentioned by an English factor, he mentions, "Freight charges on boats from Multan to Thatta was 3/4 per *maund*; the charges for land transport for a somewhat shorter distance was Rs. 2 ½ per *maund*. He added, at Multan, "the best way is to buy a boate" which was cheaper than at Lahore, "one at 2,000 *maund* burthen not costing more than 250 ru (pees) or thereabouts".[130]

The goods were carried through boats from Agra to Thatta, but at the time of rainy season, it took forty days to reach Thatta along with Multan, Sithpur, Bhakkar

120 R. Fitch, Ryley, p. 100.
121 Pelsaert, p. 6.
122 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 214.
123 R. Fitch, Ryley, pp. 110-15.
124 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 214.
125 Bowrey, p. 225.
126 Fitch, p. 18.
127 Manrique, Vol. II. p. 135.
128 Mundy, Vol. II, p. 87.
129 Jourdain, p. 162.
130 *E.F.I.* (1637-41), pp. 135-36.

and Rohri and each boat could be loaded sixty tons or upwards.[131] Besides the sea routes, which connected Sind with the important coastal towns of India, also carried foreign trades of Sind. The trade between Thatta and Hurmuz was passed through waterways and import-export was carried by the Portuguese frigates.[132] Next sea route was from Lahari Bandar to Masqat.[133]

The land routes and sea routes played an important role in the economic prosperity of Sind because, though these routes the commoditites were carried easily from one place to another place. The merchants of distant placed like Agra found it cheaper to bring their goods by land route. The merchants of thatta hired carts from Agra to Multan thence to Thatta because from Agra to Multan, the transport charges including custom charges did not exceed one rupee per maund.[134]

Near Tamluk, Manrique had to cross certain streams 'on big earthen pots, lying on his stomach on the jar, covering its mouth and so cross by paddling with his hands and feet'[135]. In many parts of the deccan, as round basket-like vessel, ten to twelve feet in diameter, made of branches of Osier and covered with ox hide, was frequently used for crossing rivers.[136]

Means of Transport and Communication

Transport and means of communication have their own unique importance for their contribution towards the growth and development of the economy of a town, city or a country. Availability of viable means of transport and reliable means of comunication are equally important as the progress in the trade and commerce. Taking into account the means of transport and communication during the seventeenth century, a variety of transport was used based on the requirement (size and quantity of goods) and travelling conditions.

Oxen and Carts

The facilities for transport in Mughal India were efficient and adequate, as mentioned by Tavernier, "not less convenient than all the arrangements for marching

131 Finch, p. 161.
132 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 12.
133 *E.F.I.* (1624-29), p. 54.
134 *E.F.I.* (1634-36), pp. 130-31.
135 Manrique, Vol. I, p. 433.
136 Bowrey, p. 225.

in comfort, either in France or in Italy".[137] Oxen carts and camels were the chief means of transport. Oxen, camels, elephants, horses, mules, bullocks and bullock carts were the usual mode of inland transportation during the seventeenth century. Ox transport was monopoly of the *banjaras,* who specialised in the transport of food grains, sugar, salt etc.[138] Sometimes a single *tanda* or encampment consisted of 20,000 oxen[139]; so that a single caravan of *banjaras* might carry of nearly 2,700 tons.[140] Ovington mentions about the oxen carts as, "The light two-wheeled bullock-cart, however, was the form of transport most widely in use, for carrying passengers as well as goods. These were strongly built, could carry two to four persons besides the driver, and were of two types-covered *(chhatridar),* and without a cover. The forepart and sides were usually open, unless they happened to carry women. The Carts could be easily taken apart and reassembled: This was of great advantage in fording rivers and crossing difficult terrain".[141]

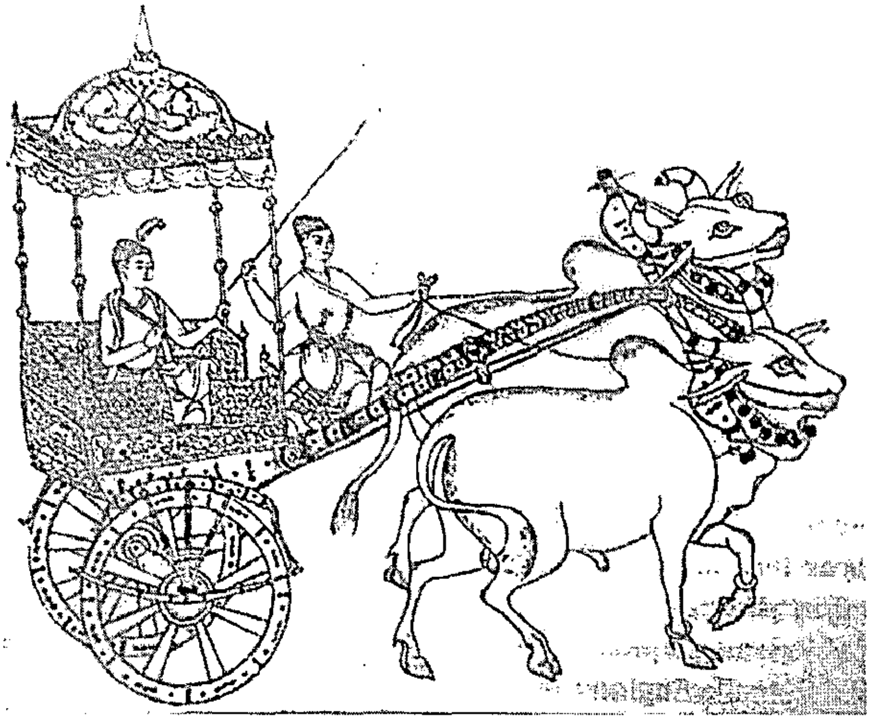


Plate I: *Chattridar* Ox cart or chariot (Image source: Technology in medieval India *c*, 650-1750, p. 103)

137 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 32.
138 *E.F.I.* (1624-29), p. 270; Mundy, Vol. II, pp. 56, 95, 98; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 33.
139 Mundy, Vol. II, p. 98; Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 32-33.
140 Mundy, Vol. II, p. 98, puts the weight "at 2 ½ cwt, to each oxe", i.e. 255.5 lb. av., whereas, Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 39, at 300 or 350 livers, i.e. 327 to 390.5 lb. av. According to factories (1655-60), p. 63, it was about 310 lb. av.
141 Ovington, pp. 151-52.

The oxen were treated similar to as a horse in another country, not any inferiror.[142] The people used to decorate the horns of their oxen with artificially modelled in cases, which they tip with silver, gold or brass. Their headstal were made of London cloth, surrounding their necks with collars for bells. They fed them the best of the cattle food. Each of these oxen cost arround 30 or 40 l. And these type of oxen generally used for drawing carts.[143] They will run with any horse[144], wrote Fitch, describing the little bulls drawing the fancy silk covered coaches.[145] Poorer peoples used oxen both for carrying loads and as mounts.

Pietro Della Valle added about the carts, "their coaches were generally covered about the roof and had curtains of crimson coloured silk fringed with yellow round about. They were driven by fair large white oxens, which ran and galloped like horses, and were beset with many "tufts and tessels". Bells were hung in their necks while running through the streets they could be heard at "sufficient" distance. All this made a very "brave show". These coaches were not only used in cities but the people travelled on them in the country as well".[146]

Edward Terry describes that,."The inferior sort of people used oxen, mules, camels as their means of transposition: either by riding them individually (both men and women alike) or along with a cart (a semi-coach with two wheels covered on top and back, but the front and sides are open unless they carry women)".[147]

The distance they covered in a day is as: Terry mentions twenty miles a day or more.[148] Mundy, five to seven *kos*[149] and Tavernier, twelve to fifteen leagues 'always at the trot', taking an hour to an hour and a quarter to travel a league.[150] The average weight carried by an ox is given by Tavernier as 300 to 350 livers, i.e. 327 to 390.5 lb.[151]

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142 Fryer, *Travels in India, p.* 322; Terry, *Early Travels*, pp. 311-12.
143 Fryer, *Travels in India, p.* 322; Ovington, p. 151.
144 R. Fitch, Ryley, pp. 95-99.
145 Fitch, *Early Travels*, pp. 17-18.
146 Peitro Della Valle, p. 210.
147 Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 311.
148 *Ibid.*, p. 312.
149 Mundy, Vol. II, p. 286.
150 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 37.
151 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 32.

Hackeries

A light cart or *ekka* were also one of the modes of transportation. The Hackeries are made of a square figure, as our coaches, says Ovington, but the seat is flat, "not rais'd with cushions to lean upon. They can carry three or four persons, and are all open on the sides, but supported at each corner and in the middle by pilasters. Some of better fashions were hung around, with an imperial over head to fence off the scorching rays of the sun and with a carpet spread under to sit upon".[152] Ovington further describing the Hackeries says, "It is a kind of coach with two wheels, are all drawn by oxen, which though they are naturally heavy beasts, and slow in their motion, yet by constant and long exercise, they acquire a great facility and speed of foot in drawing the Hackeries, so as to vie with one another in swiftness for wagers in running races".[153]

Camels

Camels were also used for carrying goods as well as people, especially in the caravans travelling between Agra and Surat.[154] Use of camels as the means of transport by the Europeans was quite extensive[155]; and sometimes as many as 700 camels, made up a *qafila.*[156] Each camel carried about 9 *maunds* of weight. Camel transport costs up to 12 ½ Jahangir rupees per camel load in 1617-18 from Agra to Surat and 15.3 / 16 rupees in 1651, from Agra to Ahmedabad[157], i.e. Rs 1.4 and 1.7 per *maund* respectively. Between Agra to Surat, camels were generally considered inferior to carts which travelled further in a day, carried three camel-loads and could make Journeys lasting fifty days.[158] Camels were a necessity in crossing sandy area like Gujarat, Sind and western Rajasthan. These, 'ships of the desert' were also used in the fertile level plains of Oudh. In Surat, "the strength and hardiness of the camels qualifie them extemely for the weight of burthens, and the length of the roads".[159]

152 Ovington, p. 151.
153 *Ibid.*
154 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), pp. 74, 90.
155 *E.F.I.* (1624-29), p. 307.
156 *Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East*, (1602-1617), Six Volumes: Vol. I, ed. F.C. Danvers; Vols. II-VI, ed. W. Foster, London, 1896-1902, Vol. VI, p. 238; *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 47.
157 *E.F.I.* (1651-54), p. 52.
158 *Letters Received*, Vol. VI, p. 238.
159 Ovington, p. 134.

According to Fryer, Camels were also used in wars, he mentions that, in Surat "near the Governer's stables, there were forty camels housed, ready for war".[160]

Transportation of goods on carts seems to have been much more convenient and economical as it did not require loading and unloading at every halting place and keeping a close watch on each unit of transport which may get away from the *Qafila* on its own. Also the equivalent of three camel-loads could be put in a cart which travelled at a faster pace.[161] A cart was usually drawn by a pair of oxen, sometimes very large carts were used for special purposes.[162] Tavernier mentions, that the wagons which carried the revenue from Bengal to Agra were each drawn by six oxen.[163] He added, even the smallest wagons which brought the marble from near Lahore to Deccan for the tomb of Aurangzeb's wife, were each drawn by, twelve oxen[164] and it took 1,400 oxen to draw the niche-stone of the great mosque at Golconda.[165]

As Thomas Roe also mentions such relative advantages of carts, says, "that the camel 'loading and unloading' with so little helpe, hath but five howers to goe; the carts, which is never unloade, will march all day. Besides, it is a third cheaper in the hire, they require not so many attendants and your goods take noe harme; whereas from cammelles they often fall 'and were also bruising at unloading.'[166]

Elephants

The use of elephants as a means of conveyance was reserved for the sovereign. Besides, the purchase and the maintenance of elephants were anyway far too expensive to be of popular use. Treasury was guarded by regular guards and transported on elephants and camel.[167] Female elephants were also used for carrying baggage. Males were reserved for the battle. They were protected by defensive armours. Some of them were trained to carry guns on their backs. When guns were

160 Fryer, *Travels in India*, p. 290.
161 *Letters Received*, Vol. VI, pp. 251-52.
162 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 172, says that, huge marble slabs for the Taj Mahal were carried on unusually large carts drawn by 20 to 30 oxen, it seems an exaggeration, as we have seen that only the equivalent of three camel-loads was carried in a cart (*Letters Received*, Vol. VI, pp. 251-52).
163 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 93.
164 *Ibid.*, p. 119.
165 *Ibid.*, p. 124.
166 Thomas Roe, p. 321.
167 Monserrate, *Commentary on his Journey to the Court of Akbar*, translated by J.S. Hoyland and annotated by S.N. Banerjee, Cuttack, 1922, p. 79.

charged and fired, the beast was not least terrified.[168] According to Terry, "The King trained up many of his elephants for the warre; who carrie each of them one iron gunne about six foot long, lying upon him, which like an harquebuse is let into the timber with a loop of iron".[169]

Horses

For the carriage of their goods, the Indians seldom make the use of Horses, they are generally employed in the Mughal's service in war.[170] But they were used in transportation by individual, traders or merchants.Tavernier, on a journey from Dacca to Kasimbazar left the boat somewhere near his destination and hired a horse.[171] At Harshapur in Orrisa, Manrique 'purchased a horse....for travelling in the guise of a *sodagor* or merchant.'[172] Between Golconda and Masulipatam, the wheeled traffic was difficult and very rare, 'the roads being too much interrupted by high mountains, tanks and rivers.'[173] The journey between Agra and Ispahan was at times undertaken by merchants on horseback in parties of three or four, and accomplish the journey in half the time, that is to say in sixty or seventy five days.[174] In Golconda, 500 to 600 horses daily entered the town carrying toddy in leather bottle.[175] Ovington mentions a curious technical failure which no doubt affected the usefulness of horses in India...'in the shooing of them', he wrote, "this commonly done so inartificially that they easily batter their hoof, and expose them to surbating with a very moderate journey".[176]

Buffaloes

Ovington describing Buffaloes says, "The Buffolo is generally larger than an ox, are remarkable for a big piece of flesh that rises above six inches high between their shoulders, but a very slower untractable animal, by which means he is useless to the natives in the convenience of riding, or of hackeries, and is generally employed in carrying large bags of fresh water on each side, from the Tanques to the houses".[177]

168 *Ibid.*, p. 86.
169 Terry, *Early Travels, p.* 306.
170 Ovington, p. 134.
171 Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 106-7.
172 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 98.
173 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 142.
174 *Ibid.*, p. 73.
175 *Ibid.*, p. 128.
176 Ovington, p. 151.
177 *Ibid.*

Bullocks

Several factors contributed an making bullocks by far the most convenient and important means of transport in the seventeen century. By virtue of their adaptability to traversing long distances over paved, unpaved or uneven roads and also because of their abundance in the empire, they may be graded higher to other animals as a beast of burden and means of transport in the Mughal India.[178] These bullocks could carry, on an average, four great maunds of weight each.[179] Each maund neere 16 gallows is 1,12,000 bushells London measure. Riding on bullocks was common in practice.[180]

Palanquins

"Those whose wealth is able to support it, are pompously carried upon men's shoulders in palanquins, whose carriage is as easie and pleasant as that of our chairs in the Streets of London, but far surpasseth them in point of state and quick dispatches of a journey. Four or six servants support the Palanquins, with others that attend and relieve them by turns, who will easily carry it twenty on thirty miles a day".[181] It is a kind of bed, 6 or 7 feet long, 3 feet wide, with a small rail all around. A sort of cane, called bamboo, which they bend when young, in order to cause it to take the form of a bow in the middle, Supports the cover of the Palankeen, which is of satin or brocade.[182] Ballister of four or five inches thickness supports it; the sides of it are curiously wrought, and richly plated with gold or silver; the covering is made of fine silk; the cushions within are generally of rich *zarbaft* (a kind of silver or Gold brocade), with the choicest carpets spread under them.[183] The Palanquin bearers belonged to a particular caste of Hindus called *kahars*. They carried their burden with such skill that the occupants inside were not troubled with any jolting. When not engaged their special profession, the palanquin bearers used their free time in performing porters' jobs.[184] While of the smaller types known as *Doli* or litter having

178 Hamida Khatoon Naqvi, *Urbanisation and Urban Centres*, p. 73.
179 Mundy, Vol. II, p. 95.
180 Jourdain, p. 127.
181 Ovington, p. 152; Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 312; Thomas, Coryat, *Early Travels*, p.278.
182 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 37; Ovington, pp. 151-52.
183 Ovington, p. 152.
184 *Ain.*, Vol. I, p. 264.

seat for one occupant only was carried by just two men[185], though occasionally used by men, these were in the main used by ladies.[186]

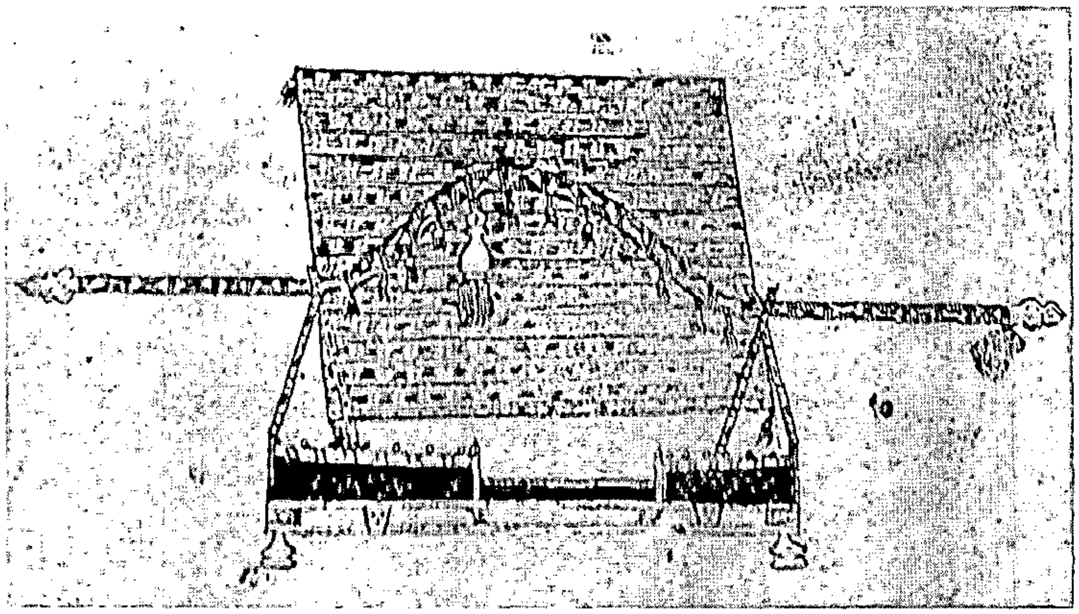


Plate II: A palanquin (Image source: A geographical account of Countries round the Bay of Bengal, 1669-1679, p. 86)

Tavernier further added, three men, atmost, placed themselves, at each of those ends, each carry the Palankeen on their shoulders, one on the right and other on the left, and they travel in this way faster than our chairmen in Paris, and which on easier pace, being trained to the trade from an early age, when you wish to make haste, and travel as much as 13 or 14 leagues a day, you take twelve men to carry the Palankeen so that they may relieve one another from time to time.[187]

The Emperor also travelled in a large Palanquin which was manned by sixteen persons. According to Bernier, "most commonly he is carried on men's shoulders in a *Tukht-i-Rawan*, or field throne, where in he sits. This Tukht is a species of magnficient Tabernacle with printed and gilt pillars and glass windows, that are kept shut when the weather is bad. The four poles of this litter are covered either with scarlet or brocade, and decorated with deep fringes of silk and gold. At the end pole

185 Mundy, Vol. II, p. 189.
186 Jourdain, p. 127.
187 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 38.

are stationed two strong and handsomely dressed men, who are relieved by eight other men constantly in attendance".[188] The nobles imitated this style when not moving with the royal train.[189]

Porters

Short distances of some few miles could be easily traversed by porters, when provied loads were not too heavy. Thus, for instance, the individual weavers of the suburbs like Panipat, Sikri, Khairabad, Lakhawar could conveniently have parcels of some pieces sent to the markets of Delhi, Agra, Lucknow or Patna. The hiring of oxen, camels or carts would entail expenditure which would not be necessary unless the bulk of the goods demanded it. Women porters carried people across the mountain passes while baggage and provision were loaded on goats: the rates were Rs 2 per porter for a 10 days traverse, and the same amount for each quintal of goat-load. In the difficult passes, horses had to be 'handed up with ropes'.[190] Finch saw similar arrangements on Kashmir-Kashgar road.[191] Tavernier writes about the *Manori* tribe which was engaged in the profession of transportation.[192]

Pattamars

"A *pattamar*, i.e. a foot messenger, is generally employed to carry letters to remotest bounds of the empire. So that, whenever the English are under the necessity of writing to Bengal, Madras or any other part of Indostan, a person is sent on purpose upon the errand".[193]

"For the security of letters sent abroad to the principal ministers, or the Emperor, they are enclosed in a large hollow bambou of a foot length, at one end of which is a head or covered two inches long, which after the letter is put in, is joined close to the bambou, and upon that joining the seal is fixt, to prevent taking out the

188 Bernier, p. 370.
189 *Ibid.*, pp. 370-71.
190 Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, translated by V. Ball, 2nd edition revised by W. Crooke, in Two Vols., London, 1925, Vol. II, p. 264.
191 Finch, *Early Travels, p.* 170.
192 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 38.
193 Ovington, p. 149.

letter without breaking the seal. This preserves the letter neat and clean, unsullied by rain or dust".[194]

Costs of Transportation

For Palanquins, one usually took twelve men to carry each and the charges were rupees 4 per month per person, but Rs. 5 if the journey took more than sixty days.[195] The hire of a cart cost about Rs. 1 a day; a journey from Surat to Agra or Golconda cost about Rs. 40 to Rs. 45.[196] It is in the same proportion throughout the whole of India. The cost of transportation from Agra to Surat was 1 ¾ rupees (*Hundi*) per man[197]; from Patna to Agra Rs. 1.5 / 8 per man[198]; from Agra to Lahore Rs 2 per man[199]; and from Agra to Multan is Rs. 2 ½ per man.[200] The normal cost of land transport from Patna to Agra, as bargained for by Hughes and Parker, was Rs. 1 ¼ to Rs. 2 ¼ per maund of 62 ½ lbs., including the pay of the native supervisor, which was Rs. 10 to 15 for the journey.[201] For the carriage of goods from Patna to Agra which took anything between twenty-nine and forty days, the rule was to allow the full stipulated rates for thirty days with a deduction of 25 percent for time taken in excess of that period. In practice, the stipulated rate was for the longer period with a premium of Rs 8, if the carts arrived in time.[202] The carts were the cheapest form of transport for both people and goods.

194 *Ibid.*
195 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 38.
196 *Ibid.*, p. 37.
197 *Letters received*, Vol. VI, p. 238.
198 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 199.
199 *E.F.I.* (1637-41), p. 135.
200 *Ibid.*
201 Mundy, Vol. II, p. 367.
202 *Ibid.*

Chapter V

Trade and Commerce

One of the key developments during the Mughal rule was the establishment of many foreign factories in India, which not only helped in developing trade relationships with the major parts of the world, but also promoted indigenous trade and craft. Overall, this paradigm shift towards extensive trade activity, helped in the growth of the economies of the individual towns as well as the country as a whole.

The merchants played a key role in the commercial activity. Some of the merchants were the link between the foreign factories and the markets. Others worked as standalone businessmen and propagated the trade and commerce in different towns. Even some of the members of the Royal family were involved in their own business and trade. Overall, they acted as the catalyst in the chain reaction of commercial activity in Mughal India.

Further, the surplus produce of the rural areas complemented the resources available in the towns and the cities to develop specialized markets for commodities. Another advantage of the surplus was that the country and the individual towns became self-sufficient apart from serving as markets for bulk purchase of commodities. This further promoted the foreign export and attracted more foreign investment in the country.

It seems from the European sources that to undertake any commercial activity inside the imperial territories of the Mughal Empire some sanction or permission from the Emperor was required.[1] In the early stages of trade in Mughal India, the English stationed a representative exclusively at the court to gain favours for the company. But soon this job was given to the chief factors of Agra.[2] The English managed to win favours from the Emperors and Nobles like reduction or exemption from *rahdari* or transit duty by gifting rarities and novelties to them (Emperors, Nobles or high ranked officials).[3] Though Agra was usually the main market, merchants and their agents

1 *Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East*, (1602-1617), Six Volumes: Vol. I, ed. F.C. Danvers, Vols. II-VI, ed. W. Foster, London, 1896-1902, Vol. I, pp. 238-39.

2 *Letters Received*, Vol. II, pp. 108, 131-32; *English Factories in India*, (1618-1669), edited by W. Foster in 13 Vols., Oxford, 1906-27, (1618-21), p. 335.

3 *E.F.I.* (1642-45), pp. 159-60; p. 214, "...we also hope to purchase into you large immunities in matter of your customes and rhawdaries (*rahdari*, a transit duty), as the Dutch did the last year; (1651-54), p. 281, The Factors complain that due to presents and bribes the Ducth enjoy greater favours with the officials; Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, 1656-1668, translated and annotated by A. Constable, 2nd edition, revised by V.A. Smith, Oxford University press, London, 1992, pp. 292-93, Dutch "find it useful to have a confidential person near the court always ready to prefer a complaint against a governor or officer...".

preferred to the primary places of manufacture of the commodities which they wanted to purchase.[4]

Markets

Market centres for different commodities were situated in different parts of the city of Agra.[5] Merchants from different parts of the empire and even form outside, gathered in the market round the year.[6] The Taj-ganj was perhaps the biggest and the most important market. It was situated in the vicinity of the Taj-Mahal. Shahjahan had planned it as a big centre as appears from the account of Peter Mundy, who says, "Hee intends, as some think, to remove all the cittie hither, cawseinge hills to be made levell because they might not hinder the prospects of it, places appoynted for streets, shopps, dwellings, commanding merchants, shopkeepers, artificers to inhabit (it)".[7] Soon it evolved as an established trading centre "consisting of six large courts, all surrounded with porticoes, under which there are chambers for the use of merchants".[8]

The market for livestock was called *nakhkhas* "where they sell horses, camells, oxen etts".[9] It must have been situated on the outskirts of the city. Manrique was surprised to find a whole market for sweetmeats, separate from the one where foodstuffs were available.[10] Tavernier also mentions a market on the outskirt of the city, towards Delhi.[11] But it is not known what commodities were sold there. A large variety of commodities[12] were offered for sale in these and other markets. Wholesale

4 *Letters Received*, Vol. IV, pp. 165, 235, 248-49 (for indigo); *E.F.I.* (1618-21), pp. 169 (for *samanas*), 204, 213 (for Bengal silk); Bernier, pp. 292-93.

5 Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia*, edited by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Vol. II, entitled '*Travels in Asia*' Hakluyt Society, London, 1914, Vol. II, pp. 189, 207, 213-14 & 216; Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, translated by V. Ball, 2nd edition revised by W. Crooke, in Two Vols., London, 1925, Vol. I, pp. 86-88; Fray Sebastien Manrique, *Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique* , trans. C.E. Luard assisted by H. Hosten, 2 Vols., Hakluyt Society, London, 1927, Vol. II, p. 156.

6 Salbancke, *Purchas*, Vol. III, pp. 83-84; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, pp. 215-16.

7 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, pp. 213-14.

8 Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 86-88.

9 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 189.

10 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 156.

11 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 89.

12 Salbancke, *Purchas*, Vol. III, pp. 83-84, he informs us that "very much merchandise of silkes, and cloths, and precious stones, both rubyes, diamonds, and pearles..."etc. were sold; Mundy, Vol. II, pp.215-16, gives us with a list of items of consumption: "The Bazare affords plentie of all things, as flesh, fish, graine, fruits, etts., as beefe, mutton, partrege, guiles, pigeons, Turtle doves (sometymes geese and ducks); Mangoes, Plantains (bananas), anannesses (ananas, pineapples) etts., (and other) fruits of this countries (and out of Persia), Raysins, Almonds, Pistaches (Pistacio), walnutts, apples, orrenges, prunes (plums), Prunellas or dried apricocks (apricots), musk melons (Kharbuza)... water melons (tarbuza); *Letters Received*, Vol. IV, p.250.

and retail trade both flourished. There were some merchants who could store goods worth several lakhs of rupees at a time.[13] Goods were available, all the time, in such large quantities that as an English Factor put it, "if (we) had a million pound sterling lying here in Agra it would quickly be laid out in several sorts of cloth and indigo that this country doth yield in great abundance".[14]

Fatehpur Sikri, which enjoyed the importance of being the capital of the Mughal Empire under Akbar for a brief period, was also an important market centre on the early years of the seventeenth century. From Agra to this place, a distance of about twenty three miles, the road appeared to be one busy market[15], which appears to be a bit eggxagerated. In its prime, it enjoyed the same importance and reputation as Agra. It had a spacious market place about half a mile long, with stone buildings on both the sides of the paved street.[16]

Bernier has described the Bazars of Delhi in a vivid and interesting fashion.[17] Shops were full of commodities, cloth in particular. Turbans, both embroidered with gold and silver brocade, were on sale.[18] The costly merchandise was usually kept in warehouses of which there were only a few shops. There were many shops for daily provisions such as oil, butter, grains, etc.[19] the fruit-market as described by Bernier was well supplied, and however the commodities were expensive. For instance, a single melon was sold at a crown and a half.[20]

Meat was available for sale almost everywhere in the city. Bernier, based on his experience, complained about the inferior quality of meat sold in the Delhi market.[21] He also mentioned that expensiveness of the meat in the market. Bernier writes, "I had been for years in the habit of living by stealth and artifice, and that the one hundred and fifty crowns, which he (master) gave me monthly would not

13 *Letters Received*, Vol. IV, p.250, "Agra sents about twenty or thirty thousand churles of indigo per year to persia and Turkey. Also some people have three or four years' indigo in their hand."

14 *Letters Received*, Vol. VI, p.203.

15 Fitch, *Early Travels*, p. 18.

16 Finch, *Early Travels*, p. 149; John De Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, translated into English by J.S. Hoyland and annotated by S.N. Banerji, Bombay, 1928, pp. 42-43.

17 Bernier, pp. 248-52.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 248.

19 *Ibid.*, pp. 248-49.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 249.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 250.

otherwise keep me from starving, although in France I could, for half a rupie, eat every day as good meat as the king".[22]

There was ample supply of fowls. Pigeons were also sold there. Partridges (smaller than the Europe ones), duck and hares were brought alive from the distance.[23] It can be said that Bernier found the markets of Delhi ill supplied with food. Similarly, fish was not easily available. Overall, he found the cost of living, especially food, expensive.[24]

The road from Ahmadabad to Mahmudabad was covered by markets and houses of people on both sides, so that the two cities appears one; and in the course of time artisans and craftsmen settled there.[25]

Control of Markets

The control of market was an important feature of the administration of the town, as it affected the interests of the public and the government critically. Various officers were appointed for the proper functioning, supervision and control of various markets.[26] An important tool to control the market was to restrict the sale and purchase of the commodities to their specified markets. According to the English factories, "An extensive building was erected near the Badaun gate; and was named the mansion of justice, and the Sultan ordered that all piece goods brought from the different parts of the Empire should be deposited in it and should be sold there".[27]Abul Fazal declares it to be the duty of *kotwal* not to allow purchases to be made outside of the city.[28]

Officers were appointed to determine and fix the prices of commodities in the market, which is evident from the *Mir'at-i-Ahmadi,* which says, "*Muqayyim* is an officer who fixes prices in the market suited to the various customers...[29] Similarly *A'in* provides the information that the *kotwal* should use his discretion in securing the

22 Bernier, p. 251.
23 *Ibid.*, p. 252.
24 *Ibid.*
25 Syed Nawab Ali and Charles Norman Seddon, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* supplement, ed., B. Bhattacharyya, No. XLIII. (Baroda, 1928), p. 7.
26 *Mir'at*, (Suppl.), p. 157. It mentions the appointments of the officers to the markets of Jewels, ivory and bookwork. Similarly officers were appointed for the '*Pan*' market, who worked under the *kotwal*.
27 *E.F.I.* (1622-23), p. 183. According to it the merchants were forbidden to deliver goods at the residences but the factors were forced to purchase in the bazar.
28 *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 44.
29. *Mir'at*, (Suppl.), pp. 154-55.

reduction of prices.[30] In addition to this, the supply[31], "sale and purchase of goods too were regulated and controlled".[32] Textile and silken goods, before being offered for sale were stamped by government contractors in Benaras, and it seems that this system was to maintain the required standard of the quality of products, and the defaulters were punished.[33] Master craftsmen like carpenters etc. were controlled by the *kotwal*, who would not allow them to leave the town without his permission.[34]

The sale of certain goods was forbidden. Mandelslo says of Ahmadabad, "foreigners had freedom to trade in all sorts of commodities, except those which were prohibited, such as gun power, lead and saltpetre..."[35] Issuing of license to the merchants for carrying on trade in the country was the duty of the governors[36], but in practice it seems that prior permission had to be obtained from the king. The *kotwal* and the *muhtasibs* were responsible for seeing that standard weights and measures were used in business transactions.[37] The proper circulation and checking of the alteration in value of the coins, was also the responsibility of the *kotwal*.[38]

The *kotwal* and the *muhtasibs* were also responsible for maintaining and executing the state laws on intoxicants. Manucci corroborates the account of *A'in* and says, "...No vendors were to be found, for whenever the *kotwal* suspected that spirits were made in any house he sent his soldiers to plunder everything in it".[39] It was also the duty of the *muhtasib* to check and control the use of intoxicant".[40]

Akbar[41] and Jahangir[42] prohibited the preparation and selling of wine, rice spirit or any kind of intoxicating drug, and the same policy was followed by Shahjahan and

30 *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 44.
31 *Ibid.*, It says that 'rich shall not take beyond what is necessary for their consumption'.
32 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 187. According to these records the merchant were imprisoned for buying and selling without their permission in Surat.
33 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 116.
34 *E.F.I.* (1622-23), p. 93.
35 John Albert de Mandelslo, *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India*, edited by M.S. Commissariat, Oxford university press, London, 1931, New Delhi, 1995, p. 28.
36 *E.F.I.* (1622-23), pp. 163, 167.
37 *Mir'at*, (Suppl.), p. 149.
38 *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 44.
39 Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor*, Indian Texts Series, translated by William Irvine, in Four Vols., London, 1907, Vol. II, pp. 6, 420.
40 *Ibid.* II, p. 7; *Mir'at*, (Suppl.), p. 149; According to it 'he executed the commandments and prohibitions of the law'.
41 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, pp. 6, 420.
42 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* translated to English by Alexander Rogers, edited by Henry Beveridge in Two Vols., London, 1909-1914, Delhi, 1989, Vol. I, pp. 8, 157; Jahangir says, "I gave an order that as *bang* and *buza* (rice spirit) should not be sold in the bazars".

Aurangzeb.[43] A few wine shops were licensed, and prices were fixed for the wine sold for medicinal purposes. *A'in* says, "His Majesty established a wine shop near the place... The price of wine was fixed by regulations, and any sick person could obtain wine or sending his own name and name of his father and grandfather to the clerk of the shop..."[44] Even gambling was strictly prohibited by the order of Jahangir.[45]

Custom levies and other local taxes from the various sections of the populace were realized by administration, such as the toll taxes from the markets, on the goods entering the city and from public women. *Amins, mushrifs, karora (karori), tahsildars, daroghas* and *mutassaddis* are mentioned as the officers responsible for the execution of regulations in this connection.[46] The officers appointed and allocated to a town varied and depended upon the size of the town and its commercial importance. Illegal gratification to the officers concerned was apparent and not a rare event. This may be supported by Mandelslo's remarks that, "it was usual to pay the *kotwal* fifteen pence per wagon by way of a present".[47]

The custom posts called '*chowkis*' were generally situated near the city gates for the convenience of realizing the taxes. John Fryer referring to Surat says, "...at every gate stands '*chowky*' or watch to receive toll for the emperor".[48] There used to be a large number of the custom stations[49] located within and outside the town. Peons were posted at various stations for assisting the custom officials in the '*chowkis*'.[50] Other towns like Rajmahal, Murshidabad and Hugly too had similar arrangements. A custom house was called the '*chabutra*' from where the newly arrived vessels after their registration, were given the permission to enter the city.[51] These custom houses

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43 Bernier, p. 252, According to him the wine even in Delhi was not open for sell; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, pp. 5, 6.

44 *A'in.*, pp. 201-02.

45 *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, p. 157.

46 *Mir'at*, (Suppl.), pp. 154-57.

47 Mandelslo, p. 28.

48 John Fryer, *A New Account of East Indies and Persia being Nine Years Travels*, 1672-81, edited by William Crooke in Three Vols., Hakluyt Society, Cambridge, 1909, Vol. I, p. 252.

49 *Mir'at*, (Suppl.), p. 155. In the light of the records of *Mir'at* in Ahmadabad, there were a large number of custom stations and few of them were exclusively meant for realizing dues from the cloth markets.

50 *Ibid.*, p. 154, He mentions that, "fifty peon, on Rs. 150 per month, were posted at the various stations, receiving their salaries from the department of customs".

51 Manrique, Vol. II, pp. 135, 137; Hedges, Vol.I, pp. 33, 105.

also served the purpose of registering pilgrimages and realizing the toll tax from them.[52]

Merchants and Traders

Merchants were played an important role in trade and commerce in Mughal period. The chief occupation of the merchant class was trade, jewellery making, banking, money lending and cloth selling. Regarding traders and trade professionals, both India and non-Indians were in the field. Among foreigners indulging in land route trade were Persians, Armenians and the merchants[53] from countries of north-west of Kabul. They used to come to India to purchase Indian commodities and to sell their own commodities.[54]

Moreland argues that there was no distinct trading race in Northern India. The Persian and Armenians were controlling the overland trade westward through Qandhar.[55] They never settled themselves in any city or town but instead moved from one place to another.[56] Among the Indian Muslims trading community, the *vohra* which literally meant pedlar[57], were very prominent. They were scattered over different parts of India but mainly towards Gujarat and north-west of India. Besides the *vohras*[58] there were the Arab and Persian immigrants who were settled in India from a long time and had flourishing business around the port of Cambay and the north-western parts of Hindustan.[59] The most important among Indians were the *multanis* in the north-west and the Gujarati *banias* on the western coast.[60] The *multanis* originated from Multan and took nickname of their native place. They were *banias* who migrated to Persia and other distant places. Their main profession was trade and they also took to usury. Tavernier mentioned that, "they have their own laws and customs, regarding their professions".[61] The foreign Muslim merchants were

52 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 147. He refers to the realization of toll tax at Allahabad.
53 *E.F.I.* (1646-51), pp. 335-36.
54 *E.F.I.* (1637-41), p. 134; Manrique, Vol. II, p. 180.
55 *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 246.
56 *Ibid.*
57 Barbosa, pp. 120-21.
58 Mir'at, (Suppl.), p. 108.
59 Badaoni, Vol. III, p. 50.
60 Life and conditions, p. 107.
61 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 74.

called *'khurasanis'*. They were forming *caravans* and coming from Persia to India through Qandhar consisting of many cattle and commodities.[62]

The merchant class of India was composed of many religions such as Hindu, Jain, Muslim and Parsi. Beside their main activity of trade, some of them were also working as grain traders, brokers, penmen, accountants, collectors, and surveyors and sometimes as tailors and barbers also.[63] Generally for Hindu and Jain merchants a term *bania* was used by all the European travellers. One of the famous merchants and *nagarsheth* of Surat was Virji Vohra.[64] Another famous merchant and jeweller was Shantidas, according to *Mir'at*, "Satidas Sahu the jeweller, who was the best and most eminent Sahu of Gujarat was honoured with an award of a robe".[65]

The German traveller Mandelslo informed that Muslims preferred state services rather than trade and commerce.[66] But the English Factory Records and other contemporary sources mention the involvement of many successful Muslim merchants in trade and commerce such as Mulla Ghafur, Haji Zahid Beg and others. Mulla Abdul Ghafur, a famous *vohra* merchant of Surat was a native of Northern town Pattan and belonged to a not so fortunate class. He left his home town and migrated to Southern Gujarat to settle at Surat in the seventeenth century. In course of time he became the richest ship owner of Surat.[67]

Even the merchants like Hakim Mashihuzzaman and Ali Akbar, who were holding the office of the governorship of Surat and Cambay respectively, were involved in trade and commerce. However it seems that Muslim merchants were favoured by the aristocracy against the Hindus.[68]

In addition to the trading communities, Mughal Emperors and nobles are also mentioned to have indulged in trading ventures sometimes on a large scale. Mostly nobles were interested in luxury articles and rarities.[69]

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62 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 186; Pelsaert, p. 30; Monsserate, *Commentary*, p. 159.

63 Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, 1688-1723, in Two Vols., London, 1811, Vol. I, p. 150; Ovington, p. 165.

64 Gokhle, 'Broach and Baroda: Notes on the Economic History of Gujarat Cities in the seventeenth century', *JASB*, 24, (Bombay, 1968-69), pp. 137-46.

65 *Mir'at*, Vol. I, p. 212.

66 Mandelslo, pp. 9-10.

67 Ashin Das Gupta, 'The Maritime Merchant of Medieval India, c. 1500-1800', *PIHC*, (New Delhi, 1974), p. 11.

68 Gokhle, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

69 *Life and condition*, p. 105.

Bernier mentions that Indian nobles became interested in the production of fruits and they got imported seeds and developed orchards and gardens attached to their enclosures. The surplus produce of their gardens was put to the market.[70] Besides, horse trade was very attractive and the members of royal household and high nobles often were mentioned to have indulged in this trade[71] during the seventeenth century.[72] There are references of nobles investing in trade directly or through advancing money to the traders.[73] For example, Mir Jumla has invested in the external trade.[74] Asaf Khan, another important noble left seventeen crores of rupees, jewels and horses in 1641.[75]

There are several references of the involvement of the royalty in a trade of their own choice. The Mughal Emperors and the members of royal families also invested money in trade to procure rarities and to ensure a regular supply of Arabi, Persian and Turkey horses. Akbar was also engaged in trade on his own account to make the wealth and exploited every possible source.[76] He encouraged the banking system in his empire and made money out of it. He was strict that the information regarding horse trade should be given to him.[77] It indicates that he had an effective control over some part of the trade. From the very beginning Jahangir was interested in commercial activities and he even made trade links with foreign traders.[78] Mughal Emperors appointed their brokers for the commercial transactions or they were made through the Governors of the state and other important nobles or officials.[79] Sometimes these provincial governors were getting commissions in the trade.[80]

Prince Khurrum is also said to have indulged in trade. It is reported that he managed his own *karkhanas* and after ascending the throne in 1628, he continued the same and invested huge sums of money in it.[81] He had the governors for dealing the

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70 Bernier, p. 250; *Agrarian system of Mughal India*, pp. 69, 50.
71 Thevenot, p. 218.
72 Satish Chandra, Commercial Activities of Mughal emperors, *PIHC*, 1959, p 269. (Proceeding of the Indian History Congress).
73 Athar Ali, *Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, pp. 154-55.
74 Tavernier, p. 31.
75 *E.F.I.* (1632-41), Introduction, p. xxviii.
76 V.A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mughals*, p. 41 (Delhi, 1966).
77 Monsserate, *Commentary*, p. 207.
78 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), pp. 23 134, 187; *Letters Received*, Vol. I, p. 33.
79 *Ibid.*, (1622-23), p. 177; *Letters Received*, Vol. I, p. 256.
80 *Ibid.*, (1661-64), pp. 395-96.
81 *E.F.I.* (1622-23), p. 48; *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 23.

commercial transactions.[82] He was the important customer of Arabian horses which were imported to India.[83]

Like his predecessors Aurangzeb also shown keen interest in the commercial activities. He maintained *karkhanas* and imported different commodities to India and in return send the Indian commodities.[84]

Royal women also played a considerable role in the commercial activities during the Mughal period. Their involvement in the mercantile activities was not a new phenomenon in India because there are examples in history where we can clearly see women handling business and trade independently. Their involvement in trade and commerce came most often from ruling family and noble class women.

Maryam Zamani, Jahangir's own mother, owned ship called *Rahimi* through which she traded with the market of West Asia and Persian Gulf. The significance of *Rahimi* in the overseas commercial activities is reflected from the fact that when in 1611, it was captured by the Portuguese they demanded 30,000 rials for its release.[85] She showed a remarkable interest in trade and commerce, particularly overseas trade. She was among the most well-known of the ship owners; "the Great Mogul's mother was a great adventurer, which caused the Great Mogul to drive the Portugals out of this place".[86] Her ship carried merchandise for the vendors of holy city, Mecca, and trafficked in pilgrims going for *hajj*.[87]

Nur Jahan is also said to have indulged in the trade activities and she invested her money in the same and her chief agent was her brother Asaf Khan who purchased goods on her behalf.[88] She owned some ships and was actively engaged in overseas trade and commerce. Some of her commercial enterprises brought her immense profit, especially in indigo and embroidered cloth trade.[89] She was an extremely astute and practical merchant, showing no hesitation in cooperating with the Portuguese for commercial security and profits.

82 *E.F.I.* (1637-41), pp. 288; *E.F.I.* (1646-50), p. 256.
83 *Ibid.*, (1637-41), pp. 301, *E.F.I.* (1642-45), pp. 147-48.
84 *E.F.I.* (1661-64), pp. 78, 80, 189, 191; *E.F.I.* (1668-69), pp. 11, 13, 36, 209.
85 *Letters Received*, Vol. I, pp. 186-88.
86 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 43.
87 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 163, 167, 178, 180-4.
88 *E.F.I.* (1646-50), Introduction, p. xviii; Jourdain, pp. 155-56; Roe, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, pp. 414-15.
89 *Ibid.*, (1618-21), p. 305.

Several of her business ventures were based on the cooperation of private Portuguese merchants, and her ships would regularly pay *cartaz* dues to the Portuguese.[90] Thomas Roe inform us about the interest of Nur Jahan's in trading activities, says, "on going to Jahangir, every way of new points of power, however, the queen Nur Jahan, asked to see ambassador's seal, keeping it overnight".[91] Roe further acknowledged that Nur Jahan played a crucial role in his negotiations with the imperial court, as also in determining the demand of foreign goods and luxury items in the imperial court.[92] Roe called "Nur Jahan as his solicitor and brother as his broker".[93]

Princess Jahanara, the daughter of Shahjahan was also involved in commercial activities. She maintained her own *karkhanas*. She carried extensive trade with the help of foreign traders.[94] She fully participated in trading operations and owned several ships. This business of her served two purposes. The first, to increase profits from overseas trade, and second was to assist the pilgrims going for *hajj*. In 1643, one of her ship carrying for *hajj* included a cargo of goods worth Rs. 10 to 15,000 which were to be sold at Jeddah and with the profits thus accrued her agents were to buy horses.[95]

Agents or Brokers

The brokers were the middlemen for the English and Dutch Companies in Mughal India. They were expert in the matter of rates and values of all the commodities, thus they were called as *dalal* in Indian language.[96] These brokers were well versed in different languages needed for the communication with the English and the Dutch. The Europeans were largely dependent on these brokers, and in turn the brokers got their brokerage from them.[97] The brokers were mostly Hindus but evidence referred to some Muslim brokers too, as one of such brokers, according to the English Factory records was named Hera Vora.[98]

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90 *E.F.I.* (1618-1621), p. xv.
91 Roe, *The Embassy*, pp. 401-404, 412.
92 *Ibid.*, p. 436.
93 *Letters Received*, Vol. VI, p. 150.
94 *E.F.I.* (1642-45), p. 148; *E.F.I.* (1651-54), p. 11.
95 *E.F.I.* (1651-54), p. 11.
96 Bernier, p. 188.
97 Ovington, p. 233.
98 *E.F.I.* (1646-1650), p. 325.

In case of indigo, agents were dispatched to Bayana, Khurja, and Koil, the important centres, during the season.[99] For calicoes, English agents were sent to Lucknow, where they could get their hands on varous varieties such as *dariyabadis, khairabadis* etc and to Samana for the *samanas* variety of calico.[100] This was true for merchants from other countries as well. The Armenian and the Mughal merchants went to the countryside to purchase Indigo.[101] Similarly the merchants form Agra, positioned their agents at Golconda to purchase diamonds and spices.[102]

The services of the brokers were fully utilized and some of them were even permanent employees.[103] At the time, when the English Factory was dissolved, *Dhanaji* was entrusted with the job of looking after the English interests at Agra.[104] Sometimes, the brokers were hired on a commission basis for the supply of goods.[105]

Bills of exchange and Insurance

The methods used in commercial finance were quite advanced and simplified. There was also couple of new developments during the seventeenth century, which was of the insurance for the goods in transit as well as *hundis* (the bills of exchange).[106] The rates of premium are available from the following table.

Table I: Rates of Premium for Insurance of goods

Year	Goods insured	From	To	Approx. distance (in km)	Rate as per cent of value of goods
1646	Treasure	Daman	Surat	97	1.0
1647	Commercial goods	Ahmadabad	Thatta	507	0.5
1655	Cochineal	Surat	Agra	885	2.5
1655	Cash	Machilipatnam	Surat	1086	1.0

Source: *People's History of India*[107]

99 Pelsaert, pp. 15-16, 18; *E.F.I.* (1642-45), pp. 303-04.
100 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 336; (1642-45), pp. 303-04.
101 Pelsaert, pp. 15-16, 18; *E.F.I.* (1642-45), pp. 303-04.
102 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), pp. 326, 258; (1651-54), 148-49.
103 *E.F.I.*, (1642-45), pp. 300-01, 304; (1651-54), p. 112, Ananti Das Bindaban at Rs. 20 per month, Gokul, Chajja and Madhur were employed at Rs. 10 per month.
104 *E.F.I.* (1634-37), pp. 79, 203.
105 *E.F.I.* (1665-67), p. 263; (1668-69), pp. 6-7, Agreements were signed with one Piru Hingola on a 10 % commission, and some money was advanced to him for making purchases; he was required to supply the goods from Agra to Surat.
106 Irfan Habib, *People's History of India,* Vol. 20, *Technology In Medieval India* (c. 650-1750), New Delhi, 2009, p. 104.
107 *Ibid.*

There are many references to the use of *hundis* or bills of exchange which indicate that the use of physical cash was limited. Cash was readily used in the case of short distances.[108] The procedure and the system of bills of exchange were elaborate and were used for major transactions.

As discussed earlier in the chapter III, that Agra was well connected with all the important commercial towns of India, and some of the major towns of central Asia as well; *Hundis* issued at other places could be discounted at Agra and vice-versa.[109] The commission or the discount charged on these *Hundis* varied from place to place on the basis of the distance between the two places and sometimes on the availability or supply of cash. The commission charged on the basis of distance between two places is attempted in a table as follows.

Table II: Commission charged on Hundis between cities

From	To	Commission (in per cent)
Ahmadabad	Agra	2.5 to 3[110]
Agra	Patna	1.7/1.8 to 2[111]
Agra	Delhi	1[112]
Agra	Surat	4.1/4.8 to 5[113]
Golconda	Surat	4-5%.[114]

In case the goods passed through the local territories of *Dautawar* and *Bargent*, between Agra and Ahmadabad or Surat, the commission or the discount was raised about 1 to 2 per cent.[115] These rates took into consideration the difference of

108 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 346.

109 *Letters Received*, Vol. I, p. 106; Vol. II, p. 266, Agra and Ispahan; Vol. IV, pp. 196-97, 234, 236, 341; Vol. V, p. III; Vol. VI, p. 164; *E.F.R* (1634-37), p. 169; (1642-45), p. 302, from Surat to Agra; (1618-21), pp. 85-86, 181-82, 236 for Agra and Patna, 337 for Agra and Samana; (1622-23), p. 24; (1624-29), pp. 270, 273; (1630-33), p. 96, from Ahmedabad to Agra; (1651-54), p. 8, Agra to Delhi; (1646-50), p. 225, Agra and Bayana; Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 36, for Dacca-Agra-Surat, Patna-Agra-Surat, Banaras-Agra-Surat.

110 *E.F.I.* (1624-29), pp. 270, 273; (1637-41), p. 193.

111 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), pp. 236, 248.

112 *E.F.I.* (1651-54), p. 8.

113 *E.F.I.* (1642-45), p. 302; (1646-50), p. 225; (1651-54), p. 122; (1655-60), p. 18-19; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 24.

114 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 30.

115 *Ibid.*, p. 37

the *chalani* (current) and *sikka* (newly coined) rupees, in which the payments were made.[116] There was even a limited time period for the encashment of the *Hundi*[117], beyond which certain interest was charged.

Tavernier informs us that in India the period of maturing of a bill was two months.[118] It appears that the Dutch used to give the privilege of dealing with bills issued (or purchased by) them for a consideration: "the shroff to whom the exclusive right to deal in bills of exchange had been formed out for an annual sum of 500 pagodas".[119]

It can be said that the system of credit was quite established and organised. The entire business of money lending and insurance was managed by *sarrafs* or the bankers.[120] There were some rich magnates in Agra who advanced large amounts to these *sarrafs* and took interests at 5-8 per cent per month. The *sarrafs* on their part then lent out the money deposited with them at 1-2.5 per cent.[121] It appears that the loans of small amounts were charged with the highest rate of interest, with an exception made to the English merchants who borrowed money from time to time[122], paid the interest at 0.75-1 per cent.[123]

Surplus of Agricultural Produce

The economic profile of India during the seventeenth century was based on the agro produce as it was in the earlier years. The abundance of food grains and livestock in all over the Hindu kingdom of South India and to the empire of the great Mughals in the North India for the centuries has been witnessed by the travellers.

Most of the travelogues have ample information about the fertility of the soil, abundance of victuals, livestock and fruits. Yet the matter pertaining to the agricultural techniques is not very lucid. Some travelogues have dealt with the method of cultivation of crops. Barbosa has given a detailed method of rice cultivation in Majandur town situated on a small river along the coast towards Malabar. He

116 Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India* (1556-1707), Bombay, 1963, p. 70 (fn. 45).
117 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 36, Mentions the time period for the encashment of the *Hundi* between Agra and Surat as two months; *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 247, is mentioned as 40 days.
118 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 37.
119 *D.F.I.*, pp. 275-56.
120 Irfan Habib, *People's History of India*, Vol. 20, *Technology In Medieval India* (c. 650-1750), New Delhi, 2009, p. 104.
121 *E.F.I.* (1642-45), p. 303.
122 *Letters Received*, Vol. II, pp. 298-99; Vol. VI, pp. 214, 230, 236, 238; *E.F.I.* (1624-29), p. 271.
123 *E.F.I.* (1642-45), p. 303; (1646-50), p. 122.

mentions, "The method of sowing by a drill in the ploughshare is remarkable".[124] At Calicut, the cultivation of rice was made by ploughing by oxen as in European countries.[125] Terry confirms this method of rice cultivation when visited western India in the reign of Jahangir. He further Informs us that, "their seed time is in May and the beginning of June; their harvest in November and December which were the most temperature months in India".[126] The common crops produced were wheat, grains, rice and millet. Peas, beans and other pluses were also cultivated.[127]

The agricultural output of raw materials depended mainly on the climate including rainfall, fertility of soil and agricultural improvement policies of state, land tenure system, irrigation facilities, livestock, transport facilities and peace.[128]

The Europeans travellers mentioned the fact of about the fertility of Indian soil. The fertile soil of Bengal,[129] Deccan,[130] Sindh[131] and Surat[132] was recorded by almost all the travellers. The Deccan soil is fertile throughout, being watered by many rivers and streams.[133] The fertility of Bengal also recorded during the reign of Shahjahan by Bernier.[134] This fertility was due to the climate which was found very good and healthy as the abundance of rainfall recorded throughout India for cultivation.[135]

The fertility of soil was the major factor leads to the abundance of food grains throughout the period. This abundance was appreciated by almost every traveller. The food grains were very cheap due to the abundance. Abbe Carre mentioned about

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124 Duarte Barbosa, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, English tr. and ed. Mansel Longworth Dames, 1918-21, Asian Education Services, New Delhi, reprinted, 1989, Vol. I, p. 192.

125 Ludovico Di Verthema, *The Iternerary of Ludovico Di Verthema of Bologna from 1502 to 1508*, English tr. John Winter Jones, 1863, Asian Education Services, New Delhi, reprinted, 1997, p. 66.

126 Edward Terry, *Early Travels in India, 1583-1619*, edited by Willam Foster, London, 1921, Low price publication, Delhi, 1999, p. 298.

127 Barbosa, Vol. I, p. 200.

128 Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *Mughal Economy: Organisation and Working*, Naya Prokash, Calcutta, 1987, p. 8.

129 Francois Pyrard Laval, *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard Laval to the East Indies, The Maldives, The Moluccas and Brazil*, English tr. Albert Gray, assisted by H.C.P. Bell, London, 1887, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2000, Vol. I, p. 327.

130 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 136.

131 John Huyghen Van Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen Van Linschoten to the East Indies*, English tr. and ed. Arthur Coke Burnell and P.A. Tiele, London, 1885, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1988, p.55.

132 Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 296.

133 *Ibid.*

134 Francois Bernier, *Travels in Mogul Empire A.D. 1656-1668*, tr. and ed. Archibald Constable and Vincent A. Smith, London, 1934, 2nd ed. Delhi, 1992, p. 438.

135 Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 298; Pyard, Vol. II, pp. 34, 255.

the cheapness of food at Madras, Surat, Goa, Bijapur, Golconda and Bombay in 1672-74. He says, "Food is very cheap: five pound of rice for 3 sols (3d.) I say, rice, because it is the principal food of these people, as wheat is in Europe; three dozen fowls for an ecu (4s. 6d.); the largest pig costs 30 sols (2s. 6d.); a sheep or goat 20 sols (1s. 8d.); butter, wheat, vegetables, herbs, fruits, fish and other such provisions are to be had in abundance".[136] Abul Fazl corroborates Abbe Carre's statement.[137]

Table III: Price of the commodities given by Peter Mundy[138]

Commodity	Price in Rupees	Weight (per ser/per *maund*)
Quick silver	3 1/2	Per *seer*
Vermillion	4	"
Nutmegs	5 1/2	"
Cardamom (*Illaichi*)	1 3/4	"
Saffron (*Kishtwari*)	16	"
Saffron (*Kashmiri*)	10	"
Pepper	24	Per *maund*
Dry ginger	10	"
Alum	8	"
Nausadar	10	"
Bachch	9	"

These prices give an estimate of the abundance of the produce which led to the cheapness of availability of the goods.

Primary Items of Export

The surplus was not just of the agricultural products, but there were several other commodities and the raw materials, which attracted the indigenous as well as the foreign traders towards both the urban and the rural areas. The easy and abundant supply of such commodities led to the development of the towns as major markets and commercial centres. This has been discussed under chapter II and the major produce of the areas has also been briefly mentioned under the same chapter. It would not be

136 Abbe Carre, *The Travels of Abbe Carre in India and the near East, 1672-74*, English tr. and ed., Lady Fawcett, ed. Charles Fawcett and Sir Richard Burn, 3 Vols., Hakluyt Society, London, 1948, New Delhi, 1990, Vol. II, p. 596.

137 Abul Fazl, *A'in-i-Akabari*, trans. into English Vol. I, by H. Blochmann (1873), revised by D.C. Phillott (1927); Vol. II, by H.S. Jarrett (1891), revised by Jadunath Sarkar (1949); Vol. III, by H.S. Jarrett, (1894), revised by Jadunath Sarkar (1948), Calcutta, Vol. I, p. 62.

138 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 153-54.

feasible to thoroughly mention the trade details of all the commodities as the data and the information would be voluminous and going into thorough detail would lead us astray from the core subject of study. However, the primary products and domestic industries of different regions have been illustrated in Map III. Further some of the major items of export are discussed as follows.

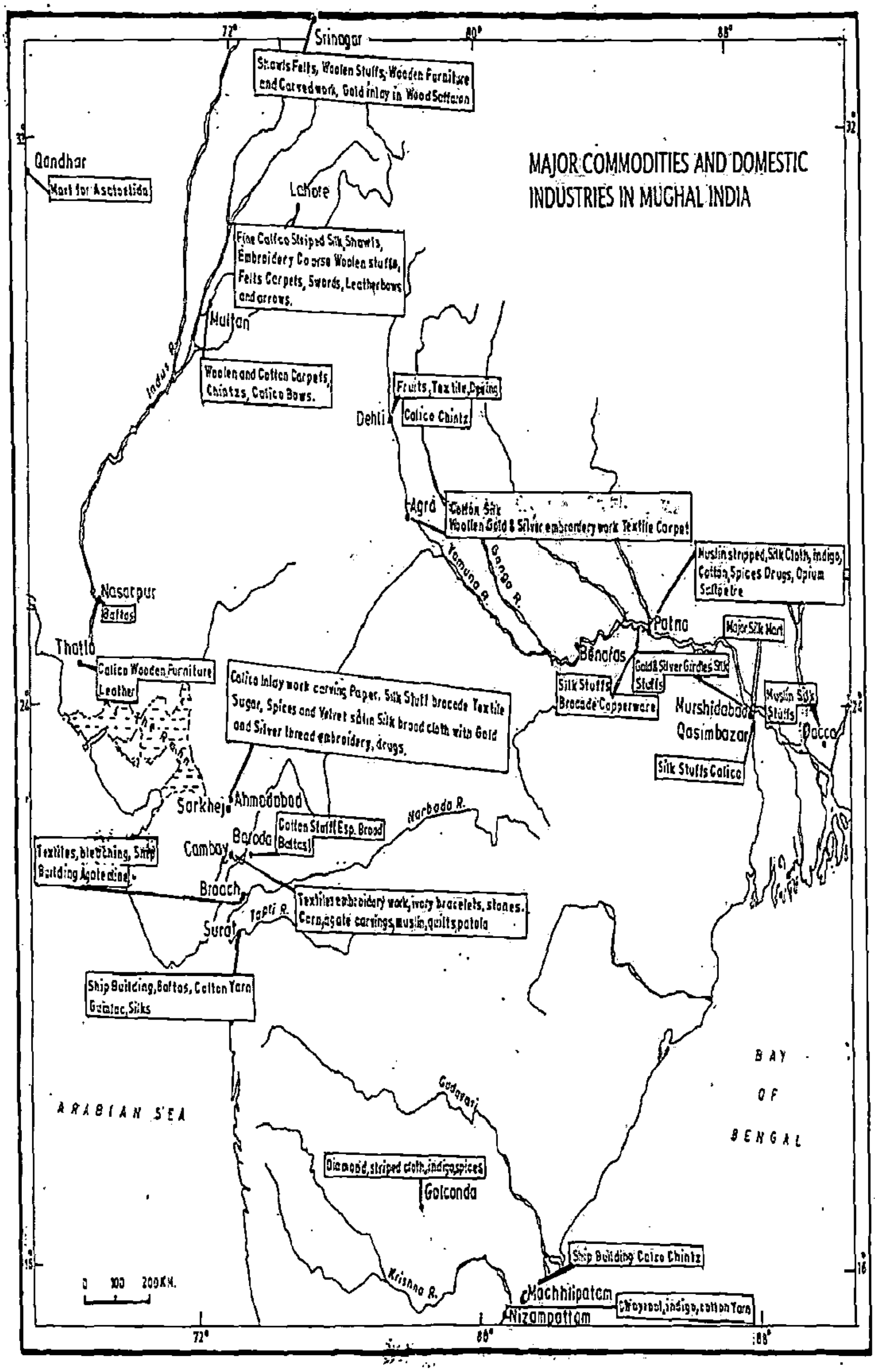
Indigo

Indigo is a blue powder obtained from the plants of the *genus indigofera* and is used as a dye. Among Indian exports, indigo formed one of the principal items.[139] The most important region of indigo production was Biana which lay in Gangetic Doab about 50 miles south-west of Agra.[140] During the months when indigo-dye was manufactured, there was a great rush of buyers for purchases on the spot, the merchants coming from all regions of the world.[141]

The indigo was prepared from a plant which was sown in the month of June-July. It was cut three times in year and the colour of indigo made from the first crop was of the violet blue which was more brilliant.[142] The plants were placed into the tank which was made of lime.[143] According to Pelsaert, the production of one *bigha* was put into a put (hale, pool, pit) of 38 ft. in perimeter, about 6 ft. deep.[144] The tanks were generally 80 to 100 paces in circuit. The produce was steeped in water in order to enable to absorb the substance or dye of the cutting. It was allowed to rest for some days[145] and when it was seen that the dye settled at the bottom of the round put and the water was clear then the holes were opened to allow the water to escape.[146] The slime was taken out in the baskets and further the pastes were used to make into pieces of shape and sized of a hen's egg.[147] Finally the indigo was put into a closed earthen vessel that it might become too dry in light or wind.[148] The indigo of Sarkhej was flattened and made into the shape of a small cake.[149]

139 Pelsaert, p. 31.
140 Mundy, Vol. II, p. 234.
141 Finch, *Early Travels*, pp. 148, 151; Pelsaert, p. 17; Manrique, Vol. II, p. 152.
142 Pelsaert, p. 10; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 8; Mundy, Vol. II, p. 234.
143 Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 9, Finch, *Early Travels*, pp. 151-52.
144 Pelsaert, p. 10.
145 *Ibid.*, pp. 10-12.
146 *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 9.
147 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 9; Finch, *Early Travels*, pp. 151-52.
148. Jagdish Narain Sarkar, *Studies in Economic Life in Mughal India*, Delhi, 1975, p. 135.
149. Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 9.

Map III



(Based on Irfan Habib's Mughal Atlas)

The indigo produced in Biana or its vicinity was the best in India.[150] Biana indigo tract is mentioned in different sources for its quality.[151] The other places within the Biana-tract were: Bhasawar, Sonkher and Sonkheri, Helak, Hindvan, Khanua[152], Rupbas, Nimbera[153], Fatehpur and Sikandra etc.[154] at some of these places the production and manufacturing sometimes equalled to what Biana-hawili produced. Agra itself was the centre of production and manufacture of indigo.[155] Its area was small but it extended across the river Jamuna upto I'timadpur, at a 12 miles distance from Agra.[156] According to Pelsaert, Agra indigo, for the convenience of the merchants[157], were brought to Lahore market.[158] Next to Agra was Kol (Aligarh) tract which also was famous for indigo production and manufacturing.[159] The important places included in the tract were Jalali, Khurja[160] and Etawah.[161] Khurja was one of the principal indigo *mandi* in Kol region.[162] The area comprised by Kol tract, according to Finch was wider both to Agra and Biana individually.[163] But indigo produced was inferior to Biana.[164] In addition to the above mentioned indigo tracts, the other indigo producing regions were *suba* Gujarat. The important places which specialized in indigo production were: Sarkhej,[165] Ahmadabad, Surat, and Baroch.[166] The indigo of Sarkhej near Ahmadabad was next to Biana in quality.[167] The total production of indigo in the Biana-tract annually amounted between 4,000 to 5,000[168] bales and the town of Biana individually contributed about 300[169] bales. The indigo

150 Mundy, Vol. II, p. 234.
151 Pelsaert, p. 13; Finch, *Early Travels*, pp. 151-52.
152 Finch, *Early Travels*, p. 151; Pelsaert, p. 14n. Khanua, 18 miles N.E. of Biana which was famous for its good variety of indigo because of its denseness of soil and appropriate water.
153 Finch, *Early Travels*, pp. 149-152, Pelsaert, pp. 13-14; Mundy, Vol. II, p. 22; Thevenot, p. 56; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 89.
154 *Ibid.*
155 Finch, *Early Travels*, p. 152; *A'in*, Vol. II, p. 192.
156 De Laet, p. 62.
157 Pelsaert, p. 30.
158 *Ibid.*; *A'in*, Vol. II, p. 120.
159 Finch, *Early Travels*, p. 179; Pelsaert, p. 15.
160 Town of Bulandshahr district in U.P.
161 Finch, *Early Travels*, p. 179; Pelsaert, p. 15; *E.F.I.* (1630-33), p. 325; *E.F.I.* (1646-50), p. 219.
162 Finch, *Early Travels*, p. 179; Irfan Habib, An Atlas of the Mughal Empire, p. 33, Khurja has been signified with 'coria'. But Coria (or kauria or kauriganj) is a different place in modern district of Aligarh, about 30 miles from Khurja.
163 Pelsaert, p. 15; Finch, *Early Travels*, 149-152.
164 Pelsaert, p. 15.
165 Jourdain, *Journal*, p.171.
166 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 54.
167 Finch, *Early Travels*, p. 174; Withington, *Early Travels*, p. 207; *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 113; *E.F.I.* (1622-23), p. 109.
168 Finch, *Early Travels*, p. 153; Pelsaert, pp. 13-14.
169 Pelsaert, p. 13.

manufactured at the town of Biana was the best in the whole tract. This superiority was due to the brackish water in the wells near the town.[170] The Kol (Aligarh) tract annually produced about 1,000 bales.[171]

Regarding the price of indigo of Biana which was comparatively higher than the indigo of Kol or Sarkhej, during the 16th century it ranged from Rs. 10 to 12 per *maund*. The general price of export quality of indigo of Biana was Rs. 30 per *maund*.[172] According to Pelsaert during Jahangir's reign, it was also distributed all over India where the indigo was not produced.[173] The rate of Indigo of other places including Mewat was Rs. 20 per *maund*.[174] In 1625, J.N. Sarkar mentioned, the cost of round indigo in Biana was Rs. 26 to 32 per *maund* and the flat indigo of Sarkhej about Rs. 12.[175] In 1627, while Ahmadabad indigo ranged from Rs. 12 ½ to Rs. 15 ½ then the Biana indigo cost from Rs. 35 to Rs. 35 ½ per *maund*.[176] Sometimes due to failure of rains, the rates of all indigo reached very high, even more than Rs. 40 per *maund* which was also half dry one.[177] The rate of the excellent quality of Biana indigo was between Rs. 35 to 40 per *maund*.[178] The English factors occasionally invested in the Lahore which was priced at or under Rs. 2 (two) per ser which means Rs. 70 to 80 per *maund*.[179] Inspite of that, the Biana indigo was liked too much by the foreign merchants and was exported in maximum quantity.

We have seen that the Bayana indigo was considered the best in the whole empire and hence, there was a great demand for the same from all the regions. Sensing the same, the merchants, who had control over the markets in their respective regions, raised the prices of indigo. Under such circumstances, the Dutch and the English, purchased indigo jointly, with mutual understanding.[180] The Mughal Emperor, in the 1630's granted monopoly rights for the purchase and sale of indigo for the whole empire to a merchant named *Manchandas Danda*. Apparently, this decision was a complete failure as the individual in control started charging as

170 Pelsaert, p. 13.
171 *Ibid.*, p. 15; *E.F.I.* (1630-33), p. 325.
172 Pelsaert, p. 15.
173 *Ibid.*
174 *Urban Centre and Industries*, p. 45.
175 *Studies in Economic Life*, p. 157.
176 *Ibid.*
177 *E.F.I.* (1646-50), p. 219.
178 *Urban Centre and Industries*, p. 45.
179 *E.F.I.* (1665-67), p. 5; (1668-69), p. 194.
180 *E.F.I.* (1646-50), pp. 76-77, 225, 253-54.

monopolistic rates, because of which the other merchants stopped purchasing indigo from him.[181]

The indigo of Kol region partly was used in India and partly exported to Samarkand and Kashghar etc.[182] This indigo was not taken by English or the European merchants and sometimes it was mixed with the Biana indigo in order to send to the European countries or to the Mediterranean.[183] It is reported that mostly the produce was taken by Armenian, Lahore and Kabuli merchants.[184]

Regarding Sarkhej indigo, the merchants penetrated to the production centres and brought it to Agra and then exported to Middle East, Persia and Central Asia where it had occupied its own reputation of its famous varieties.[185] Every 10 days about 200 wagons loaded with goods went from Ahmadabad to the important ports of the province.[186] The Englishman Nicholas Uphet also found the everyday 200 loaded wagons left Ahmadabad for Cambay.[187] High quality indigo produced at Sarkhej near Ahmadabad was sent to Cambay.

According to Mundy, the indigo produced in Biana or its vicinity was the best in India.[188] It was mainly purchased by the foreign merchants[189], who carried it to the markets of Aleppo and Persia where it was known as 'Lahore indigo'.[190] The fact behind 'Lahore indigo' was that Lahore was the place where the *caravanas* were made up and the loading on camels and carts were being done to Persia, Central Asia and Arabia.[191] Lahore was the centre of indigo trade and Biana indigo was the additional variety which was easily available there and the foreign traders taken the profit out of it.[192] The investment of the English and other Europeans in Biana indigo seems to have been very limited. It was because of the long route from Agra, Surat via Burhanpur and consequently high prices.[193] Lahore indigo which brought from Agra

181 *E.F.I.* (1630-33), p. 324; (1634-36), p. 13.
182 Finch, *Early Travels*, p. 179; De Laet, p. 62.
183 Pelsaert, p. 15, Finch, *Early Travels*, p. 179.
184 Pelsaert, p. 15.
185 Finch, *Early Travels*, p. 174; Jourdain, p. 192; *E.F.I.* (1624-29), p. 232; *E.F.I.* (1634-36), pp. 73, 92; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 72; Pelsaert, p. 30; *Akbar and Jesuits*, p. 85.
186 *Gazetteers of Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I, p. 88.
187 *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p.63.
188 Mundy, Vol. II, p. 234.
189 *Ibid.*
190 Pelsaert, p. 30; *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 109.
191 Pelseart, p. 30.
192 Finch, *Early Travels*, p. 155.
193 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 326.

was meant for Persia, Central Asia and Mediterranean. Because of this, European traders sometimes could not cope to Persian traders of indigo at Lahore.[194] Moreland is of the opinion that the indigo was carried to the Levant from Agra by overland routes.[195] There was a hard competition in Mediterranean markets with indigo brought by the way of Surat or London.[196] The indigo was carried to Persia by Armenians and moor merchants[197] through Multan Qandhar land routes.[198]

English were the main buyer of indigo in Ahmadabad. It sold between 25 to 30 *mahmudis* per *maund* whereas Biana indigo was priced at up to 60 *mahmudis* and Jambusar indigo was priced between 15 to 20 *mamudis* per *maund.*[199]

Within Golconda the centres of Indigo productions included Nagalvancha, Sandraptla, Gane, Gelupandy, Ecour and Bimlipatan.[200] Nagalvancha was considered to produce the best Indigo within the region.[201] Besides Masulipatam, Indigo was also exported from Nizamapattam and Pulicut.[202] The Dutch were the main or sole exporters of the Golconda indigo.[203] In 1614, 300 Fardles of indigo were exported by the Dutch from Masulipatam[204]; while in 1615-16, 200 *bahars* from Pulicut were exported.[205] The sale price of indigo at Nagalvancha was about 28-39 Pagodas in 1614.[206] In Holland, the Pulicut variety of indigo fetched 41 ½ stuivers per pound.[207]

The Dutch had to face some setbacks in the indigo trade between 1612 and 1614 due to the political condition of Golconda[208], but these were later overcome and indigo exports continued unhampered. The Dutch trade in indigo at Masulipatam was adversely affected by the opening of a new factory at Tierepopelier, which became

194 *E.F.I.* (1668-69), p. 180.
195 W.H. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb, A Study in Economic History,* Delhi, 1974, pp. 57-58; *Studies in Economic Life*, p. 172.
196 Pelsaert, p. 32.
197 *Studies in Economic Life*, p. 172.
198 *Ibid.*; *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 57. *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 105.
199 *Letters Received*, Vol. I, p. 28; *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 69; *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 292.
200 Anonymous *Relations*, p. 79; Schorer in *Relations*, p. 61
201 Schorer in *Relations*, p. 61.
202 *E.F.I.*, (1618-21) p. 41; Raychaudhuri, p. 163.
203 Peter Floris, *His Voyage to the East Indies in the Globe* (1611-15), translated, W. H. Moreland, London, 1934, p.127; Schorer in *Relations*, p. 61; Anonymous *Relations*, p. 79; *E.F.I.* (1618-21) pp. 41, 49; *Ibid.*, (1622-23), p. 229; *Ibid.*, (1630-33), p. 55.
204 Floris, p. 127.
205 Raychaudhuri, p. 163.
206 Schorer in *Relations*, p. 61.
207 Raychaudhuri, p. 164.
208 Anonymous *Relations*, p. 79.

their main centre of indigo supply; but by 1636 the Masulipatam trade had recovered due to the company's demand for increased supply.[209]

In 1621 the Dutch also buy old and new indigo at about Rupees 9 ½ and 9 ¼ per *maund*.[210] The rate of indigo was fluctuating during seventeenth century, in January it was Rs.7 per *maund*[211] and in the month of August it was between 8 and 9 per *maund*.[212] A rumour that the English would invest three to four lakh Rupees in indigo caused a price rise.[213]

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the Indian indigo faced competition with the indigo from America and Jamaica and this had to decline in exports to Mediterranean but the traders from Central Asia, Persia and Middle East continued come to buy at Lahore.[214]

Chayroot

The earliest reference to Chayroot export is of 1583-91, when Ralph Finch referred to it as '*saia*' and said it was in great demand at Pegu[215]; the demand that continued up till the second decade of the seventeenth century.[216] English were also interested in exporting it and in 1656 they made a considerable investment in it.[217] It seems that the Dutch preferred to dye cloth and export the textiles[218]; rather than Chayroot itself. Chayroot remained as an item of export in English trade till at least 1679, when Streynsham Master observed its export from Masulipatam.[219]

The red dye was produced in area around Pulicut, Nizampattam and Masulipatam.[220] Pulicut was considered to supply the best chayroot[221]; while that

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209 Raychaudhuri, pp. 163-64.
210 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 348.
211 *Ibid.*. (1622-23), p. 19.
212 *Ibid.*, p. 109.
213 *Ibid.*
214 Pelsaert, p. 30; *The East India Trade in the 17th Century in its political and Economic aspects*, New Delhi; p. 260; Akbar and the Jesuits, p. 85.
215 Fitch, *Early Travels*, p. 34.
216 Methwold in *Relations*, p. 38.
217 *E.F.I.* (1655-60), p. 94.
218 Raychaudhuri, p. 145.
219 Streynsham Master, *'The Diaries of Streynsham Master and other papers relating thereto'*, ed. R.C. Temple, Indian Records Series, 2 Vols. London, 1911, Vol. II, p. 138.
220 Schorer in Relations, p. 54; Anonymous *Relation*, pp. 80-81; *E.F.I.* (1630-33), p. 55; (1642-45), p. 79; Streynsham Master, Vol. II, p. 138.
221 Schorer in *Relations*, p. 53.

obtained from Nizampattam was next in quality.[222] Masulipatam to was an important centre of trade and we find the English were bringing chayroot to Masulipatam from Nizampattam for compersion with samples obtained there.[223] The dye was also exported from Masulipatam to Madras.[224]

It seems that this particular dye is not to be had in the other regions since the English Factors at Surat requested Masulipatam Factors for specimen of the dye and also enquired about the mode of using it.[225]

Cotton Textile

The next important item of export form India was cotton cloth which was brought from different parts of India in different qualities and specialized regional markets to the important commercial centres such as Agra, Delhi, Ahmadabad and Lahore.[226] Agra region was famous for calico and chintz. Both the varieties could be had in abundance at Agra and were of the best quality which India had to export.[227] Other varieties of cloth too, such as the ones brought from Lucknow, Khairabad[228], Dariabad[229], Banaras and Mau[230] could be procured in sizeable quantity. Dariabad and Khairabad were famous for white cotton cloth.[231] Banaras[232] and Mau[233] were famous for the varieties of *muslin* (*khasa*), calico, embroidered calico and girdles which were brought to Agra and then transported by land routes to Kabul and Qandhar. Ajmer[234], Marta, Kishangarh[235] and Mewar[236] supplied fine white cotton, cotton fabrics, multi-colour dying silk goods and other varieties to Agra.

Next important region was Delhi which besides chintz,[237] supplied silk, brocade, fine *muslin*, musket and lacquer work.[238] In *suba* Delhi, other important

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222 Hamilton, p. 397.
223 Schorer in *Relations*, p. 233; *Letters Received*, Vol. I, p. 153.
224 *E.F.I.* (1634-36), p. 45.
225 *Ibid.* (1630-33), p. 55.
226 *Ibid.* (1637-41), p. 134; Manrique, Vol. II, p. 180.
227 Thevenot, pp. 55-56; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, 424; *E.F.I.* (1642-45), p. 203; *E.F.I.* (1646-50), pp. 1-2, 189-90.
228 A town in Sitapur district in U.P.
229 A town in Barabanki district in U.P.
230 A famous qasba of modern Azamgarh district.
231 Jagdish Narain Sarkar, *Studies in Economic Life in Mughal India*, Delhi, 1975, p. 2.
232 Pelsaert, p. 7; Manrique, p. 147; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 83; *A'in*, Vol. I, p. 420.
233 *A'in*, Vol. I, p. 423.
234 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 425.
235 Roe, *The Embassy*, p. 322; *E.F.I.* (1634-36), pp. 82-83.
236 *Purchas*, Vol. III, p. 84.
237 Bernier, pp. 254-55, 258-59; Manrique, Vol. II, p. 180; *E.F.I.* (1637-41), p. 134.

manufacturing centres were, Sirhind[239], Samana[240] and Panipat.[241] The production at Samana and Panipat was almost equal.[242]

The most important commodity exported from Delhi was chintz. It was exported to Persia and beyond, and was transported by the Persian and Armenian merchants.[243] The Persian and the Armenian merchants also used to export the chintz from Sirhind.[244] The 'white-cotton cloth' was also exported from the *suba,* and Panipat was also one of the principal centres of trade for the same. From Panipat, it was taken to Sirhind and Lahore as well.[245]

Similarly, the Persian and the Armenian merchants also transported or conveyed the cloth exported from Samana to Ispahan and other places by the way of Qandhar.[246] The *samanas* variety of cloth was also purchased by the English Factors[247] as there was a great demand for the same in England.[248] They usually bought the cloth from Agra[249]; however, they could also get the cloth at a less expensive rate and in bulk quantities or get the raw form and get it 'whited' at they did at Broach or they could get the already whited cloth as well.[250] William Biddulph, John Willoughby and Thomas Kerridge, in 1619, even suggested the company to station couple of merchants permanently at Samana.[251] But this idea was rejected by Robert young in the year 1621, as in his view, the *samanas* could have been bought cheaply at Agra.[252] The difference in the cost of the cloth at Agra was about 5 to 10 per cent.[253]

238 Bernier, pp. 254-55; 258-59; The whole of the exported qualities from the Mughal Empire comes from the four kinds of the plants but the most important was shrub that produced the cotton from which the layer quantity of coarse and fine cloth were made (Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 418).
239 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 182
240 Roe, *The Embassy*, p. 447; Withington, *Early Travels*, p. 227.
241 *E.F.I.* (1637-41), p. 134.
242 *Ibid.*
243 *E.F.I.* (1637-41), p. 134; Manrique, Vol. II, p. 180.
244 *Ibid.*
245 *Ibid.*
246 *Ibid.*, p. 135.
247 *Ibid.*. (1624-29), p. 149; (1642-45), p. 204.
248 *Ibid.* (1618-21), p. 168.
249 *Ibid.*, p. 51.
250 *Ibid.*, pp. xxi, 168.
251 *Ibid.*, pp. 168, 183.
252 *Ibid.*, p. 257.
253 *Ibid.*, p. 337.

In 1619, the English sent 14 fardles[254] of *samanas* from Agra to Surat.[255] In 1620, the company purchased approx. 10,000 pieces of *samanas*.[256] Similarly, in 1621, the English merchants bought 50 fardles of the same variety of calico, and even wished to purchase about 20 fardles more of it the same year.[257] In March, 1621, the English merchants spent Rs. 1500 at Agra for buying the *samana* cloth.[258] In the August of 1621, Robert Young bought 2000 pieces of narrow calicos and further wished to purchase 3000 pieces more by Sept. 1621.[259] In Nov. 1621, 4000 pieces of Samana cloth was shipped to England.[260] Again, in the year 1625, 4000 pieces of Samana cloth shipped to England.[261]

In 1626, the company ordered to discontinue their investments at Samana. However, Robert Tottle, and English merchant stationed at Samana, showed his inability to immediately withdraw investments from Samana, since he had already given *samana* cloth to the washers and also distributed Rs. 2000 to the weavers who were expected to bring their goods within 10 days.[262] This paid off in 1627, when the prices of indigo increased, which made the company happy, both with the investment at Samana and Robert Tottle.[263]

Even though there was an active demand for the *samana* cloth, gradually it became tedious for the English to buy the cloth in large quantities and at reasonable rates.[264] For instance, in Jan. 1643, the English could hardly obtain any *samana* cloth in time.[265] Further, in Jan. 1644, Francis Breton and other officials and English merchants complained that, "Samana cloth was bespoake, but its excessive dearness hath almost, lost both the use and making of them, and so they have sent only 20 pieces for a muster".[266] In 1644 and 1645, they bought only one bale of the *Samana* cloth from Agra.[267]

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254 1 Fardle = 4 *man-i-Akbari*, Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India* (1556-1707), Bombay, 1963, p. 378 (fn. 7).
255 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 73.
256 *Ibid.*, p. 183.
257 *Ibid.*, p. 267.
258 *Ibid.*, p. 234.
259 *Ibid.*, p. 287.
260 *Ibid.*, p. 323.
261 *E.F.I.* (1624-29), p. 93.
262 *Ibid.*, p. 149.
263 *Ibid.*, p. 173.
264 *E.F.I.* (1642-45), p. 204.
265 *Ibid.*, p. 85.
266 *Ibid.*, p. 137.
267 *Ibid.*, pp. 204, 233.

Even the Portuguese merchants were involved in trading of cloth at Samana.[268] Francis Fettiplace reports to the English company in 1618, that Portuguese desired to purchase 10,000 pieces of *semanas*, though it would be difficult for them to arrange it.[269]

Bafta (a fine calico from Machhiwara) established as another major item of export from the *suba*. English merchants purchased some quantity of the same from Machhiwara.[270] There was a good market for *baftas* outside of India. English Factors reports, "Matchawara (Machhiwara), which, if not suitable for England, will readily vend at Basra, Mokha, and other places".[271] It was, however, the finer quality *bafta*, which yielded considerable profit; the poorer quality had hardly any market outside.[272]

In 1619, the English company wished to have 10,000 pieces of broad *baftas*.[273] In, 1620, 12,000 pieces of broad *baftas* and 6,000 pieces of narrow *baftas* were boarded on the ship to England.[274] Further, in 1621, 80,000 pieces of narrow *baftas* and 18,000 pieces of broad *baftas* were ready for board.[275] Gradually, in the year 1645, the total investment by the English at Machhiwara summed up to rupees 16,000. In 1650, however, the company decided not to buy Machhiwara cloth in future, on account of certain objections raised against it.[276] Gujarat also exported different types of cotton textile. Broach, Ahmadabad,[277] Cambay, Navsari, Gandevi, and Surat were the wholesale markets of textiles. Ahmadabad was a prominent centre of a prosperous textile industry served by a large group of skilled artisans. According to *Mir'at-i-Ahmadi*, "as the climate of Ahmadabad was suitable for weaving the cloth therefore it became the main centre for manufacturing the cloth in Gujarat". Broach was also described as a chief place in India for cotton yarn.[278] The English were told

268 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 46.
269 *Ibid.*, p. 47.
270 *Ibid.* pp. 51, 183; (1642-45), pp. 204, 304.
271 *E.F.I.* (1646-60), p. 13.
272 *Ibid.*, p. 100.
273 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 51.
274 *Ibid.*, p. 201.
275 *E.F.I.* (1642-45), p. 304.
276 *E.F.I.* (1646-50), p. 316.
277 Jourdain, *Journal*, p. 170; *E.F.I.* (1622-23), p. 40.
278 *Letters Received*, Vol. III, p. 33.

that they could obtain 2000 *maunds* of yarn at Broach in 6-8 months, "right wound fitt for England, of pryces from 7 to 20 rupyees the seare".[279]

Ahmadabad tended to become an important centre for dying the calico as it was highly demanded by the European markets.[280] Ahmadabad was one of the greatest manufacturing centres (others were Pattan, Baroda and Surat) of cotton cloths, and was famous for enormous variety of styles, quality, colours and patterns. For quality and durability it was considered to be the best in Asia.[281]

According to Tavernier, "the *baftas* or cotton cloths required to be dyed red, blue or black are taken uncoloured to Agra and Ahmadabad, because these two towns are near the places where the indigo is made, which is used in dying. They cost from 2 rupees a piece and up to 30 or 40 rupees, according to the fineness and the amount of gold at ends, and in same also at sides of these pieces are exported to the coast Malinde, {Malindi, an Arab town on the east coast of Africa in south lat. 3°9' (Kenya)}.[282]

The chief trade of the Dutch at Ahmadabad was of the chintz (painted cloth) however, they are "nothing near so fine as those of Masulipatan and San Thome (Madras)".[283]

Silk weaving was another important textile business in Ahmadabad. The crude silk was brought from Kasimbazar (silk of Kasimbazar was yellow, all crude silk came from Persia and Sicily, but the people of Kasimbazar know how to bleach yellow silk make it as white as the silk of Palestine), a village in the kingdom of Bengal, which can furnish about 22,000 bales of silk annually, each bale weighing 100 livres at 16 ounces to the livre. The Dutch generally took this cloth, either for Japan or for Holland, 6000 to 7000 bales of it, and they would have linked to get more, but the merchants of Tartary and of the whole Mughal Empire opposed their doing so, for those merchants took as much as the Dutch, and the balance remained with the people of the country for the manufacture of their own stuff. All these silks are brought to the kingdom of Gujarat, and the greater part come to Ahmadabad and Surat, where they were woven into fabrics.[284]

279 *E.F.I.* (1622-23), p. 157.
280 *E.F.I.* (1630-33), p. 125
281 M.N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat*, p. 20.
282 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 17.
283 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 17
284 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 14.

Excellent quality of silk *patola* (a silk cloth) was manufactured at Ahmadabad. They vary in price from 8 to 40 rupees a piece. This is one of the profitable investments of the Dutch, who do not permit any member of their company to engage in this private trade. They are exported to the Philippines, Borneo, Java, Sumatra and other neighbouring countries.[285] They were also vendible in Japan.[286]

Embroidered silk, gold and silver brocades, satin and velvet, carpets on the ground of gold or silver yarn (mixture of old thread, cotton and silk), were regarded as specialities of Ahmadabad, which were in great demand in the Mughal empire as well as the European markets.

Therefore, in the middle of the seventeenth century, Ahmadabad had become famous as a great centre of the silk weaving industry. Around 1638, a new kind of cloth, containing a mixture of silk and cotton with flowers of gold thread interwoven into the texture, had begun to be manufactured, which was very highly esteemed and sold at 5 crowns per ell (is cloth measure equal to one and a quarter yards). The inhabitants were forbidden to wear it because the emperor had reserved the same for his own special use. The foreigners were allowed to buy it strictly for export.[287] Ahmadabad sent to Lahore a variety of silken textiles and turban.[288]

Lahore also exported different kinds of cotton textile. It was famous for the manufacturing varieties of cloth, particularly the embroidered *fotah*. Sailkot was one of the important centres of this region.[289] The embroidered cloth of Sialkot included *bafta*, *chirah*, *fotah*, *sozani*, *adsaka*, table cloth and tray covers etc.[290] Lahore was famous for the manufacture of fine calico[291], stripped silk stuffs (*alacha*)[292], coarse woollen[293], *saten* (atlas)[294] and felts.[295] Other important place was Bajwara, situated about 2 miles from Hoshiarpur in Lahore region. The varieties of Bajwara and Hoshiarpur were *sirisaf*, *adhars*, *doriah*, *panchtolia*, *jhona* with *chirah* and gold

285 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 15.
286 *Letters Received*, Vol. IV, p 129.
287 Mandelslo, p. 27.
288 Pelsaert, p. 31.
289 Jadunath Sarkar, *India of Aurangzeb, (Topography, Statistics, and Roads)*, compared with the India of Akbar, with extracts from *The Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* and *The Chahar Gulshan*, trans. and annotated by Jadunath Sarkar, 1964, p. 72.
290 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 424; *K.T.*, pp. LXXVI-VII.
291 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 424; *E.F.I.* (1618-21), pp. 51-52.
292 Pelsaert, p. 31; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 424.
293 Streynsham Master, Vol. II, p. 90.
294 *A'in*, Vol. II, p. 106.
295 *Ibid.*, p. 110.

embroidered *fotah*.[296] In addition to this, other prominent cloth producing centres in Sindh were Thatta[297], Multan[298] and Sihwan.[299] Thatta[300] and Shiwan[301] were the main centres of chintz, calico, stripped cloth and *satrangis* etc. which were produced in good quantities for export trade. In Shiwan, about 1,000 families of weavers were at work for manufacturing narrow *baftas* meant for export.[302] Thatta, according to an English factor was a bigger manufacturing centre than Sihwan, as here the number of weavers alone was 3,000 families and about 2 to 3 thousand looms were at work.[303] The annual output of Thatta meant for export trade, was carried out of India both by sea as well as land routes.[304]

The other cotton textile producing cum manufacturing centres towards eastern India were the province of Bengal and Patna. In Bengal textile manufacturing centres were: Qasimbazar[305], Malda, Dacca, Hugli, Rajmahal[306], Murshidabad, Cushandnagar near Hugli, Shahbazpur, Sonargaon, Ghoraghat[307] famous for silk and jute, Barbarkabad, Bazeites, Silhat, Balighat, Masuma bazar, Satgaon[308], Gaur[309] and Maksudabad.[310] Bengal supplied fine cloth, muslin, thick calico, gold and silver girdles, silk stuffs and stripped silk. From Bengal cotton cloths first brought to Patna and from there to Agra through river, en-route to Lahore and beyond. Patna, during the seventeen century was a great market for Bengal goods as well as the goods produced in the area around.[311] Lakhwar near Patna and a large number of villages around annually produce huge quantity of cloth meant for export.[312] In Patna, there were couple of factories (English and Dutch), which were setup seeing the abundance of cotton cloth and fine silk.[313]

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296 *K.T.*, pp. LXXVI-VII.
297 Manrique, Vol. II, pp. 238-39.
298 Thevenot, p. 77.
299 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 221.
300 Pelsaert, p. 32; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 427; Manrique, Vol. II, pp. 238-39; *E.F.I.* (1634-36), p. 130.
301 *E.F.I.* (1634-36), p. 129.
302 *Ibid.*; *E.F.I.* (1637-41), p. 136.
303 *E.F.I.* (1634-36), p. 130; Manrique, Vol. II, pp. 238-39.
304 Thevenot, p. 77.
305 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 96; *E.F.I.* (1658-60), p. 296; *E.F.I.* (1661-64), p. 65.
306 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 431.
307 *A'in*, Vol. I, p. 390.
308 *E.F.I.* (1618-21). pp. 195-97; Haft Iqlim, Vol. I, p. 96.
309 Haft Iqlim, Vol. I, p. 96.
310 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), pp. 229-30.
311 *Ibid.*, p. 195.
312 Pelsaert, p. 31, Mundy, Vol. II, p. 145; *E.F.I.* (1618-21), pp. 191-96, 213.
313 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, pp. 83-84.

We have already mentioned that the textile of Delhi too had a lot of attraction for foreign merchant. Red *salu* and chintz which were manufactured here in great quantity were exported to Persia and Armenia through land routes.[314] Multan, according to Pelsaert, received a large quantity of cotton (coarse yarn), Bengal cotton goods, turbans and printed sales from Burhanpur which was loaded on camel *caravanas* at Agra en-route to Lahore and from there to Qandhar.[315] The white cloth was also exported to Boghar by the Indian traders during the reign of Akbar.[316] The calico as well as muslin were exported chiefly to Persia, Arabia and Central Asia where there were in great demand by the aristocracy.[317] The cotton textiles of Khandesh, Bengal and Patna were mainly exported to Persia, Arabia and Turkey and often the traders of these places used to come down to purchase it.[318] It is said that 14,000 loaded camels with cotton goods annually used to pass through Qandhar.[319] At Lahore alone, rupees one lakh approx. worth of embroidered muslin was sold.[320] Moreland has estimated the annual export of cotton textile ranging from 1.5 million square yards to 2.0 million square yards.[321] But it is very difficult to give exact figure for want of data. However the fact remains that the volume of trade through these land routes increased after 1615.[322]

Textile products of the Coromandal coast also dominated its export trade during the seventeenth century. A place called Narsapur, which was near Masulipatam, was a centre of the manufacture of long cloth[323]; and it seems that this variety of cloth was used at Masulipatam for making chintz.[324] Coarse woven and painted cloth was also manufactured, as weavers and painters were easily available at Narsapur.[325]

At Virvasarum, 40 miles to the north of Masulipatam, there was a large community of weavers.[326] Masulipatam was also considered to be the most important

314 *E.F.I.* (1637-41), p. 134; *E.F.I.* (1646-51), pp. 334-36, Manrique, Vol. II, p. 180.
315 Pelsaert, p. 31.
316 Boghar, A City of Bactria (*Purchas*, XII, p. 24).
317 *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 55.
318 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 429.
319 *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, p. 47; Mughal Administration, p. 133.
320 *K.T.* p. 72.
321 Moreland, Indian export of cotton goods in the 17th century, *IJE*, V part III, p. 245.
322 *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 58; *Roads and communication*, p. 19.
323 Schorer in *Relations*, p. 63.
324 Hamilton, p. 397.
325 Schorer in *Relations*, p. 33; *Letters Received*, Vol. I, p. 153; *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 47; (1630-33), p. 233.
326 *E.F.I.* (1634-36), p. 45.

centre for the manufacture of chintz.[327] The paintings here were called *qalamdar*; as these were made worth the help of brush (*qalam*).[328]

Nizampattam was another cotton producing centre, where both plain and painted cloth were produced.[329] Due to the availability of chayroot, it was one of the main centres of chintz productions.[330]

When Pulicut established itself as a centre of the Dutch trade, many weavers and painters settled there and started working for the Dutch company.[331] The printed cotton cloth was in great demand in South-East Asia right from the 16th century.[332]

Madras (San Thome) was famous for its painted cloth from 16th century[333] onwards and continued as a centre in the seventeenth century as well.[334] Aramgon and Krishnapatam were two others centres of cotton production.[335] Cotton textiles which made up the bulk of export here, can be divided into two main categories such as the plain white cloth and the patterned cloth. The plain white cloth included calico, a stout produced in different varieties depending on the fitness of the yarn and muslin, which was a thin transparent cloth of fine quality. Both varieties could be dyed.[336] The patterned cloth, the variety being either calico or muslin, with coloured patterns obtained either by dyeing, block printing or brush painting. Striped cloth was also made.[337] Golconda cloth was also exported to England, Holland, France and Persia.[338]

Sugar

Another important item of export was sugar.[339] Its cultivation and manufacture were widespread throughout the Mughal Empire.[340] According to Richard Steel and

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327 *Letters Received*, Vol. I, p. 78; *E.F.I.* (1630-33), p. 82; (1634-36), p. 45; Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 4.

328 Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 6.

329 *Letters Received*, Vol. I, p. 153; *E.F.I.* (1630-32), p. 233.

330 Schorer in *Relations*, p. 55; Thomas Bowrey, A Geographical account of the countries round The Bay of Bengal (1669-79), ed. R. C. Temple, Hakluyt Society, London, 1905, pp. 53-54.

331 Schorer in *Relations*, p. 53; *E.F.I.* (1622-23), pp. 107, 118-19; Thevenot, p. 148.

332 *D.F.I*, p. 121.

333 Fitch, *Early Travels*, p. 34.

334 *E.F.I.* (1637-41), p. 183.

335 Abbe Carre, p. 360; Hamilton, p. 397.

336 Methwold in *Relations*, pp. 53-55, 63; *E.F.I.* (1618-21), p. 41; (1622-23), pp. 336; (1624-29); pp. 135, 180; (1630-33), pp. 82, 86; (1655-60), p. 103; (1661-64), p. 159; Streynsham Master, Vol. II, p. 112; Thevenot, p. 148.

337 Methwold in *Relations*, pp. 35, 39; Schorer in *Relations*, pp. 49-50, 53-55, 63; *E.F.I.* (1622-23), pp. 229, 336; (1630-33), pp. 82, 86; Streynsham Master, Vol. II, p. 112.

338 Raychaudhuri, p. 160.

339 Thevenot, p. 102. Sugar was a peculiar industry. Half of its manufacturing device was done in the village and half in the town.

340 Mundy, Vol. II, p. 134; *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 268.

John Crowther, "All the country between Agra and Lahore yields great store of powdered sugar".[341] It meant that the production was very large and the land was suitable for it. Lahore sugar was estimated as the best sugar of India.[342] The reign of Lahore sugar comprised almost the whole *suba*, which consisted of plains and had abundance of water supply.[343] According to Abul Fazl, there were four varieties of sugar besides *gur*. These were: white and red (powered) sugar, crystals and refined.[344] The maximum export quality of sugar was candied sugar.[345] In addition to this, Multan also exported sugar on a large scale and the province is said to have equal to production to what Lahore produced.[346] Firozpur, Maham and Sirhind were other important places of this region where refined and candied sugar were manufactured.[347] Thatta was also an important place of this region where the sugarcane was grown in abundance but its quality was inferior to Lahore[348], and therefore, the export was relatively less than Lahore.[349] The sugar of Lahore and Delhi regions was mainly exported to Persia and Central Asia.[350]

Candied sugar was also supplied from Lucknow and pihani (both in suba Awadh)[351] in great quality. The province of Agra besides the imperial capital and area around had other sugar producing regions which included Biana and Kalpi.[352] Biana was famous for white sugar which was of the best quality.[353] Sugar was also cultivated and manufactured in the Gujarat province.[354] Surat and Baglana were the important areas of sugar production. But only a little quantity was available for export through land route while the rest was either consumed indigenously or sent through sea to the Persian Gulf.[355] Another prominent sugar producing province was Bengal which sent a substantial quantity to be exported to Persia through land route.[356]

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341 *E.F.I.* (1648-50), p. 225; (1655-60), p 118; *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 268.
342 Thevenot, p. 85; Palsaert, p. 31; *E.F.I.*1637-41 p. 134; *K.T.*, p 110.
343 Thevenot, p 85; *K.T.*, p. 79.
344 *A'in*, Vol. I, pp. 65, 67.
345 *E.F.I.* (1637-41), p. 135.
346 Pelsaert, p 31.
347 *E.F.I.* (1637-41), p. 134; *A'in*, Vol. I, p. 527.
348 Linschoten, Vol. I, pp. 55-56.
349 Pelsaert, p. 32.
350 Thevenot, p. 68; Bernier, p. 283.
351 *E.F.I.* (1651-56), p. 122.
352 *A'in*, Vol. I, p. 442.
353 *Ibid.*
354 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 54; Linschoten, Vol. I, p. 65.
355 *Letters Received*, Vol. IV, p. 115.
356 Bernier, p 437; Linschoten, Vol. I, p 97; *E.F.I.* (1630-33), p. 323.

The rates of four types of sugar are mentioned in the *A'in*.[357] Refined sugar cost 6 dams per ser while white sugar candy (*gand-i-safed*) cost 5½ dams per ser.[358] White sugar and brown sugar were 128 dams and 56 dams per *maund* respectively during the reign of Akbar.[359] During the reign of Shahjahan, the price of 'candy sugar' was about Rs. 11 per *maund* and the best 'powdered sugar' was priced Rs. 7 per *maund*[360] but the easily available inferior kind of sugar ranged Rs. 5.50 to 6.00 per *maund*.[361]

Pepper

From commercial point of view, pepper occupied an important position among the spices exported from India during the seventeenth century.[362] Bengal supplied the long pepper in a large quantity.[363] Long pepper was produced in abundance on the Malabar Coast and the Western ghats, which was partly consumed locally and largely was exported through sea. In the forests of Champaran of Bihar, long pepper was produced but Champaran pepper was inferior to Malabar's pepper.[364] Its taste, colour and size were different to Malabari pepper but it was brought to the markets for export.[365] Round pepper was the main production of Bijapur and Malabar Coast.[366]

Regarding price of pepper we have no information except the *A'in* which gives the price of round pepper as 17 dams per *ser* and 16 dams per *ser* during the reign of Akbar.

Saltpetre

Saltpetre was yet another important article for export. Agra and Patna are mentioned as saltpetre manufacturing centres.[367] Pelsaert and Mundy had given a detailed account of the manufacturing done at Agra and its vicinity during the seventeenth century.[368] Saltpetre was found in villages which had formerly been inhabited and then abandoned for some years. It was prepared from three kinds of

357 *A'in*, Vol. I, p. 67.
358 *Ibid.*, While Sugar candy and white powdered sugar were rupees 7.33 and 4.27 respectively per man Shahjahani (The Agrarian system, p. 85).
359 *A'in*, Vol. I, p. 67.
360 *E.F.I.* (1637-41), pp. 134-135.
361 *Ibid.*
362 Pelsaert, p. 36.
363 Bernier, p. 440.
364 Pelsaert, p. 31; *A'in*, p. 417.
365 *A'in*, Vol. I, p. 417.
366 Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 11; Linchosten, Vol. I, pp. 66-67; *E.F.I.* (1637-41), p. 93.
367 *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, pp. 96-99.
368 Pelsaert, p. 46; Mundy, Vol. II, pp. 66-67.

earth – black, yellow, and white but the black one yielded the best quality because it was free from salt or brackishness. For manufacturing saltpetre, there were made two shallow reservoirs of different size on the ground like salt pans. The large was filled with the salt earth, flooded with water from a channel in the ground, the earth was then thoroughly trodden out by number of labourers till it was pulverized and formed a thin paste. Then, it was allowed to sink for two days so that the water may absorb all the substances. The water was then allowed to escape by a large outlet into the other reservoir where a deposit was found in the saltpetre. It was evaporated in iron pans once or twice according to the need and then it was placed in large earthen jars of 25 to 30 lbs. capacity. Finally, a crust formed in dew during the night, and if there was any impurity then it sank to the bottom and the pot should be broken and the saltpetre dried in the sun.[369]

Manucci, mentioning about the town of Patna says, "In this city were two factories, one of the English and other of the Dutch, seeing that here, besides cloth of cotton…a huge quantity of saltpetre produced; which goes to be stored in Bengal and is there loaded on ships for various parts of Europe".[370]

Saltpetre from Agra was also in great demand because it was used for making the gunpowder during the seventeenth century.[371] According to Pelsaert, saltpetre was found in many places near Agra at distance of 10 to 40 *kos*. The annual production of saltpetre at Agra was about 5,000 to 6,000 *maunds*.[372] The important place near Agra was Shergarh which produced about 2,000 *maunds* annually.[373] In addition to this, the other very prominent regions of saltpetre production were Patna and Saran in *suba* Bihar. It had gained the importance in the second half of the seventeenth century.[374] From Patna, it was carried to Delhi, Lahore and to Kabul for export.[375] Alwar and Ajmer were mentioned to have specialized in making gun-powder out of saltpetre.[376]

The Mughal authorities frequently obstructed its exit from Agra as it was considered a 'war material'. In 1652, the governor of Ahmadabad refused to allow

369 Mundy, Vol. II, pp. 66-67; Pelsaert, p. 46; *E.F.I.* (1646-50), p. 152.
370 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, pp. 83-84.
371 Pelsaert, p. 46; *A'in*, Vol. I, p. 58.
372 Pelsaert, p. 46; *E.F.I.* (1624-29), p. 326; *E.F.I.* (1637-41), p. 119.
373 Mundy, Vol. II, p. 76.
374 *Ibid.*, pp. 151-56.
375 De Laet, p. 41.
376 Thevenot, p. 74.

any saltpetre to be exported and import from Agra.[377] In 1653 as well, the governor of Ahmadabad further prohibited its import from north India.[378]

Mandelslo's account provides us with the information that the foreigners had freedom to trade in all sorts of commodities except those which were prohibited, such as gunpowder, lead and saltpetre, which articles were not allowed to be exported without the governor's permission.[379] Aurangzeb monopolized the production and sale of saltpetre. The traders who indulged in this commodity had to seek imperial licences.[380]

Regarding the prices of saltpetre, Palsaert holds the opinion that before his arrival in India (1620) saltpetre was not in great demand in India and therefore, it was sold very cheap, for example at the rate of Rs. 1½ per *maund*.[381] Later on, it rose to Rs. 2 to 2½ per *maund*.[382] Tavernier wrote that relative price of refined (white) and brown saltpetre was 3:1 at Agra and Patna. Refined (white) saltpetre ranged from Rs. 2 to 3 per *maund*.[383] Towards latter half of the seventeenth century saltpetre is referred to as a royal monopoly.[384] The much demanded saltpetre[385] was produced in many localities of Coromandel, especially at Nizampattam[386], Pulicut[387], Madras[388], Ramyapatam[389] and Tegnapatam.[390] Both refined and unrefined saltpetre were exported.[391]

The European demand for saltpetre was especially fuelled by the thirty years war (1618-48), as saltpetre was the prime material in making gun powder. It was also reported to fulfil the demand of the Amboina gun powder mills of the Dutch.[392]

The English and the Dutch were involved in the export of salpetre to Bantam[393], Batavia[394], Jakarta[395], Persia[396], Ormuz[397], Holland[398] and Amsterdam.[399]

377 *E.F.I.* (1651-54), p. 215; *E.F.I.* (1646-50), p. 203.
378 *E.F.I.* (1655-60), p. 63, 64.
379 M. S. Commissariat, "Mandelslo's travels in western India", p. 28
380 *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 292.
381 Pelsaert, p. 46; A Mand of 64 lb.
382 *Ibid.*
383 Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 10; Mundy, Vol. II, p. 211.
384 *Studies in Economic Life*, p. 100.
385 Schorer in *Relations*, pp. 52, 64; Bowrey, p. 111.
386 *E.F.I.* (1655-60), p. 263; Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, 16. B.
387 *E.F.I.* (1622-23), p. 336.
388 *Ibid.*
389 Streynsham Master, Vol. II, p. 134.
390 *D.F.I.*, p. 247; Schorer in *Relations*, p. 52.
391 *D.F.I.*, p. 247.
392 *D.F.I.*, p. 75; Raychaudhuri, p. 168.

Saffron

Saffron[400] was supplied from Kashmir to Lahore and thence en-route to north-western countries.[401] Saffron is a kind of plant with purple flowers. The yellow colour was obtained from this plant and was used for different purposes; it was used as a dye, as medicine and sometimes was used to make the pleasant taste in certain drinks etc.[402] The region of production of saffron in Kashmir was Punpun which belonged to the district of Mararaj.[403] These items were supplied from Kashmir to Agra and Lahore through Pin Panjal mountain passes in Mughal Empire[404] and were exported to Central Asia.

Regarding prices, Pelsaert says that it ranged from Rs. 20 to 23 per *ser*[405] while the Casstuwary (*kasturi*) saffron which was the best kind ranged from Rs. 28 to 32 per ser.[406] The rate however, mentioned in *A'in* was higher. It then was Rs. 100 per ser.[407]

Drugs and Chemicals

Drugs may be considered one of the important articles of export from India.[408] Actually these drugs were mostly herb drugs which were produced in Indian mountains[409] and there was tremendous demand of the same in India and abroad. Nurpur near Pathankot supplied most of the drugs growing on the mountains.[410] These were: spikenard,[411] sal-ammoniac[412], turbirth (Indian Jalap), gum-lac and borax.[413]

393 *D.F.I.*, p. 75.
394 *Ibid.*, p. 179.
395 *Ibid.*, p. 52.
396 *E.F.I.* (1637-41), p. 40.
397 *D.F.I.*, pp. 277-78.
398 *Ibid.*, p. 169; *E.F.I.* (1622-23), p. 229.
399 *D.F.I.*, p. 166.
400 *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, pp. 92-93; *B.N.*, pp. 484-85.
401 Pelsaert, p. 35.
402 De Laet, p. 58 n.
403 *A'in*, Vol. I, p. 90.
404 *A'in*, Vol. II, p. 352; *A.N.*, Vol. II, p. 846.
405 Pelsaert, p. 35.
406 *Ibid.*, p 36.
407 *A'in*, Vol. I, p 57.
408 Pelsaert, p. 44.
409 Pelsaert, p. 44.
410 *Ibid.*, p. 45.
411 *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 45.
412 *Ibid.*, p. 40; Thaneshwar or Sirhind was the main production centre.
413 *Ibid.*, p. 45.

Spikenard grew in mountains and was not sown.[414] Thanesar was the place for the English to procure Sal-ammoniac[415], which eventually, they stopped purchasing.[416] It was considered a valuable drug and was used for stiffened limbs and was very useful for expelling the cold. It was sold at Agra and Lahore and was priced Rs. 6 to 7 per *maund*.[417] Indian people did not use it much but the export of drugs to Persia through Lahore and Multan was a continuous process during Mughal period.[418] It would not be an exaggeration to note that Indian drugs and medicines were in great demand and use in all parts of world.[419]

Diamonds

The Europeans, particularly the individuals, usually invested their profits in the purchase of diamonds in Surat, which they eventually sent home. From the forties, the Dutch depended more on purchases (of diamonds) made at Surat and Succadana than on supplies from the coast.[420] The profits were up to 118 per cent.[421] Linschoten refers to the Gujarati traders, at Elichpur, where they purchased diamonds brought from the Deccan, which were re-exported by them to Goa and other parts of India.[422]

Tavernier provides us a detailed account of the diamond mines, along with their names and conditions. He gives the names of twenty three mines in the kingdom of Golconda.[423]

Apparently, the diamond mines were often worked by rich merchants, and the king of Golconda farmed out the mines to them. An interesting piece of information is that, all diamonds above a certain weight were reserved for the king.[424] In 1621-22, the diamond mines were temporarily closed, partly with the object of raising the demand.[425] In 1623, these were reopened.[426] Tavernier saw the working of the Kollur mines and informs us that the miners included men, women and children. He saw

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414 *Ibid.*
415 *Ibid.*, p. 46
416 *Ibid.*
417 *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46; Salammonic priced Rs. 7 to 7½ per *maund*.
418 *Ibid.*
419 *Ibid.*
420 Tapan Raychaudhuri, Jan Company in Coromandel, 1605-1690, The Hague, 1962, pp. 172.
421 *Ibid.*, p. 173.
422 Linschoten, Vol. II, p. 137.
423 Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 353.
424 Ibid, Vol. II, p. 59.
425 *E.F.I.* (1618-27), p. 265.
426 *E.F.I.* (1622-23), p. 229.

60,000 people working there. The men used to dig while the women and children searched for the stones.[427] The diamonds procured from the mines were weighed by *mangeline*, equal to 1 ¾ carats or 7 grains.[428]

The Dutch and the English often purchased Golconda diamonds for export. They exported them to England and Holland;[429] as well as to Jakarta[430] and Achin.[431]

The Dutch and English invested a considerable amount in diamond export time to time. The English invested 1,419 pagodas in 1622[432], 24,000 pagodas in 1623[433] and 20,000 rials in 1624.[434]

Items of Import

Commodities imported into India during the seventeenth century comprised a long list. Persia and Central Asian countries offered dry and fresh fruits[435], horses and camels[436], gold and silver, precious stones[437], carpets (both plain and flowered)[438], bows and arrows, tents (*khema*), saddles and swords[439], leather goods including variety of shoes[440] and woollen cloth both coarse and fine.[441] The important articles of import besides horses and fruits included both the luxury goods[442] and things of daily consumption.[443]

Horses

Among the luxuries, furs and arms were in great demand. Horses and camels[444] were two important necessities. The former was used for the battlefield while the latter for transport. For horses particularly, India with vast Mughal Empire

427 Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 59.
428 *Ibid.*, p. 69.
429 *E.F.I.* (1622-23), pp. 221, 247.
430 *E.F.I.* (1618-21), pp. 207-8.
431 Methwold in *Relations*, p. 38.
432 *E.F.I.* (1622-23), p. 118.
433 *Ibid.*, pp. 221, 247.
434 *E.F.I.* (1624-29), p. 25.
435 Bernier, pp. 249-50; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p. 323; *E.F.I.* (1630-37), p. 143; *A'in*, Vol. I, pp. 65-66, 68-70; *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, pp. 5,
436 Bernier, p. 203; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, pp. 390-91, 360; *Purchas*, XII, p. 24; *A'in*, Vol. I, pp. 133, 151, 225.
437 *E.F.I.* (1668-69), p. 40; *A'in*, Vol. I, pp. 38-39.
438 Fitch, *Early Travels*, p. 18.
439 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 424.
440 *Ibid.*
441 *Ibid.*; *A'in*, Vol. I, p. 102; *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 142.
442 K.M. Ashraf, *Life and condition of the people of Hindustan*, p. 114.
443 *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 142.
444 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 426; Thevenot, pp. 72, 218; Pelsaert, p. 31.

and Deccan states stood a best suitable market in the contemporary world.[445] Horses were mainly imported from Persia and Arabian countries.[446] The Persian, Tartarian and Arabian horses had great name and fame of their superior qualities in the world.[447] A large number of Arbi and Persian horses were brought to Multan through Qandhar.[448] According to Bernier, many articles were sent by the Khans of Samarkand as gift to the Mughal Emperor, consisting of Lapiz, Lazuli, Long haired camels and horses.[449] Slaves and horses were brought from Bukhara and carpets were also brought from neighbouring countries.[450] Tavernier has mentioned that the horse trade through Kabul was very voluminous.[451]

According to Manucci, the horses were imported from Balkh, Bukhara and regions around it through Kabul.[452] He mentions that in 1678, about 12,000 horses were taken by the Mughal Emperor and it was rather a usual figure purchased by the royal stable. A number of them were admitted in the imperial stable while the rest were given as gifts to the nobles and big officials.[453] Bernier mentions that India annually imported about 25,000 horses from Uzbekistan and Persia through Qandhar-Multan-Lahore route.[454] The figure of 100,000 annual numbers of horses imported to India, given by Manucci, appears an exaggerated one.[455]

Dry and Green Fruits

Fruits, both green and dry, were imported into India through land routes. Contemporary travellers have mentioned that the markets of Delhi and other important cities were full of imported fruits both dry and green.[456] Fruits were imported from Balkh, Badakshan, Bukhara, Samarkand and Persia.[457] The dry fruits according to Bernier included almonds, pistachios, walnuts, raisins, prunes and

445 *A'in*, Vol. I, p. 140.
446 *Ibid*, pp. 140, 225.
447 Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 304.
448 *K.T.*, p. 61.
449 Bernier, p. 118.
450 *Ibid.*, p. 203; *Purchas*, Vol. I, pp. 447, 458; Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II, pp. 109-11; *A'in*, Vol. I, pp. 57, 140.
451 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 92.
452 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 390.
453 *Ibid.*, pp. 390-91.
454 Bernier, p. 203, Horses were imported through land routes as well as sea routes to India from Persia, Arabia and Ethopia to the ports of Moka, Basara and Bander Abbasi. The people of Uzbekistan come to Kabul for sale of horses. The trade in them amounts Rs. 60,000 annually; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 75.
455 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, pp. 390-91.
456 Bernier, p. 249; Thevenot, p. 79.
457 Bernier, p. 249; *E.F.I.* (1630-38), p. 143.

apricot.[458] Apricot and grapes were imported from Balkh to India.[459] It was imported during winter to India; both black and white were at the top. It was wrapped in the cotton.[460] Jahangir has mentioned that the melon too, of Badakhshan were brought to India every year but it was rather inferior to Kariz melons.[461] India also imported grapes, prunes[462], melons, apricots, *kishmiches* or raisins (apparently without seed) and two other type of raisins i.e. black and white which were extremely large and delicious from Bokhara.[463] These fruits were consumed in Delhi throughout winter.[464] Samarkand supplied melons, pears and apples[465] to India in great volume. The fruits from Persia were pomegranates, melons and grapes.[466] According to Bernier, India used to consume a huge quantity of fruits of different kinds. Many loaded camels with fresh fruits i.e. apples, pears, grapes and melons annually crossed Kabul en-route to Delhi,[467] because fruits in India, were insufficient and inferior in quality.[468]

Akbar had a great liking for fruits.[469] But imports of fruit to India, was more during Jahangir's period than the period of his father. Jahangir himself mentions that many of the fruits imported from abroad and which were available in the markets of Lahore, Delhi and Agra, were not found during Akbar's reign although he was very fond of fruits.[470] In the season of grape, several varieties such as *sahibi, hebshi* and Kashmiri were easily available in several towns. The marts of Lahore[471] were full of different varieties of grapes during Jahangir's reign.

Regarding fruit cultivation, Bernier has observed that the seeds of fruits were also imported to India by the wealthy, prosperous and rich people to cultivate them in

458 Bernier, p. 249.
459 *Ibid.*
460 *Ibid.* It is a common practice now-a-days, the round wooden boxes filled with grapes imbedded in cotton wood arriving to India about November.
461 *Tuzuk*, p. 270.
462 The Alu Bolkhara imported largely into India nowadays and most excellent simply steed and or in a tart.
463 Bernier, pp. 118-19.
464 *Ibid.*, p. 249.
465 *Ibid.*
466 *Ibid.*, pp. 203-04, 249.
467 Bernier, pp. 118-19.
468 Pelsaert, p. 35; Bernier, pp. 397, 422, Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 186 (for local production) *Purchas* IV, p. 57, *A'in*, Vol. I, p. 64-65, 562; *Tuzuk*, pp. 133, 299-300, 306-307.
469 *Tuzuk*, p. 270.
470 *Tuzuk*, p. 5.
471 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 186; *Purchas*, IV, p. 57 (marts of Lahore and its vicinity), *A'in*, Vol. I, p. 538 . *Tuzuk*, p. 5.

their orchards.[472] The Irani and Turani pattern of horticulture and cultivation of fruits sought to be introduced in India, had great impact on the Indian economy.[473] For example, grapes, melons, and pomegranates became very plentiful and were widely cultivated in India.[474] Simultaneously the cultivation of other fruits was adopted and in a short time, the watermelons, peaches, almonds and pistachios etc. were produced everywhere in India.[475]

Spices

There was a great demand for spices in Agra, and these were imported by both Indian and European merchants. Sometimes when there was a fall in supplies, prices soared very high.[476] The merchants of Agra stationed their agents and Golconda, specifically to purchase spices brought here from Masulipatam.[477] Pelsaert gives an estimate of the annual off-take of some of the spices in Agra: cloves – 35,000 lb., nutmegs – 30,000 lb., and mace – 30 sackels. Out of these quantities the part or ratio which was supplied by the Dutch was up-to 20,000 lb., 15,000 lb., and 15-20 sackels of cloves, nutmegs and mace respectively.[478]

Miscellaneous items of trade

Bows, quivers, shoes, greaves (armour for legs) and sandals were sent from Sirhind to all parts of the empire.[479] Similarly, swords, scimitars, daggers, poniards, and steel points for spears, pikes and javelins were sent from Sonipat to all the cities of the empire.[480] The next important item of export was opium[481] which was cultivated in Bihar, Bengal[482] and Malwa regions. From Bihar and Malwa, opium was brought to Agra for export to the north-western regions.[483] Pelsaert mentions that

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472 Pelsaert, p. 48; Bernier, pp. 249-50; *A'in*, Vol. II, p. 6.

473 *A'in*, Vol. I, p. 68.

474 *Ibid.*

475 *Ibid.*

476 *E.F.I.* (1622-23), pp. 42-43, gives the price of clove at Rs. 220 per maund.; Pelsaert, p. 23, gives the price at Rs. 200 per maund which reached to Rs. 650 to 700.; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, P. 140, It came down by 50% when the Dutch supplies reached Agra.

477 Pelsaert, p. 22.

478 Pelsaert, p. 21.

479 Monserrate, *Commentary on his Journey to the Court of Akbar*, translated by J.S. Hoyland and annotated by S.N. Banerjee, Cuttack, 1922, p. 102.

480 Monserrate, p. 98.

481 *A'in*, Vol. I, p. 410; it was used by the people and children have made it custom to use it.

482 Bernier, p 440, Production was small and it was locally consumed.

483 Bernier p 440; Pelsaert, p. 31; *Tuzuk*, p. 179.

Agra was a great market of imported carpets.[484] These were brought from Lahore to Agra. The coarse stripped carpets and felts manufactured in Baluchistan area also had market in India.[485] Coarse varieties of woollen goods were also produced and according to Manucci, twenty kinds of imported woollen stuffs were available in the market of Agra.[486]

In all the trade and commerce of the country was voluminous and multifarious. There were many small and big trades going on in various regions of the country. Apart from that many domestic industries also flourished and overall, due to the centralization of administration, majority of the trade activities were properly managed and controlled. This overall contributed to the economy of the country during the Mughal period and also helped in establishing prominent trade relationships with many parts of the world.

484 Pelsaert, p. 31.
485 *Purchas*, Vol. III, p. 85; *Purchas*, IV, pp. 271, 273-74.
486 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, 242; *A'in*, Vol. I, p. 92.

Chapter VI

Socio-Cultural aspects and the Urban Life

The Mughal period seems an era of development and growth in all aspects whether it is individual growth, growth of a community or religion or growth in the living standard of the people. The individual growth and the growth of communities led to more vibrant display of their cultural practices such as festivals or functions. People also had developed changes in the clothing and choice of food. There was a multitude of professions and businesses being undertaken by different people belonging to different castes, creed, communities and strata which subsequently had effect on their lifestyle and living conditions.

Some of the European travellers observed a stark contrast between the upper and the lower classes, describing the middle class as nearly insignificant, may be because of them being small in number or having little influence on the society. However, the some other travellers have mentioned the emerging middle class with a new creed of professionals, such as merchants, officials, bankers etc. which was gradually and constantly growing. So, if we take into consideration all the European travellers accounts it can be said that the society was more or less divided in a vertical structure, bottom of which was the lower class consisting of the peasants and the informal lower class of the cities, the middle class and at the top of the vertical structure was the upper class which included the high ranked officials, the nobles and the top merchants. All of which were contributing towards the economic profile of the country.

Underprivileged class

The underprivileged class comprised of the peasants who were the cultivators of land in the villages, either their own or of somebody else. Those who owned their own land and cultivated the same at their will were called *Khud-kashta*. The other type of the peasants, were the ones who were outsiders to the village in which they were cultivating and were not the original owners of the land but instead rented it from the local *zamindars*. They were known as *pahi-kashta*.[1]

These were the informal lower classes living in the countryside or villages. When we move towards the more populated and developed towns and cities of the seventeenth century India, there were the working classes like the servants (domestic

1 Satish Chandra, *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, Vol. I: c. 1200 – c. 1750, ed. Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib, Delhi, 1982.

and royal), artisans, weavers, craftsmen such as the blacksmiths, cobblers, carpenters, masons, stone cutters, ornamental sculptors[2] and even the soldiers.[3] There were also the barbers, tailors, dyers, washer-men, hawkers etc. which constituted of the more humble lower class. The lower class were generally poor and were living on their meagre income of 5 to 6 *tackas* (*dams*)[4] from day to day.

The rates of wages in *A'in-i-Akbari* are described in terms of *dams* and *jitals*. The workers and labourers are divided into three categories and their wages are mentioned separately. At that time, salaries were paid either monthly, daily or on the basis of work done daily. The wages paid to different workers and labourers, mentioned in *A'in-i-Akbari*[5], attempted in a tabular form are as follows.

Table IV: Categories of workers and their respective wages

Type of Worker	Description of Job	Wages in Dam/Jital
Gilkars	Workers in Lime	First Class – 7 *dams* Second Class – 6 *dams* Third Class – 5 *dams*
Sang-Tarash	Stone Masons	Tracer – 6 dams per *gaz* Plain worker – 5 *dams*
Carpenters	Carpenters Category 1 Category 2 Category 3 Category 4 Category 5	7 *dams* 6 *dams* 3 *dams* 3 *dams* 2 *dams*
Carpenters (plain work)	Carpenters Category 1 Category 2 Category 3	1 *dam* 17 *jital* 1 *dam* 6 *jital* 1 *dam* 21 *jital* *per *gaz* respectively
Pinja-saz	Lattice worker	24, 22, 18, 16 and 12 *dams* according to their perfection
Arrah-Kash	Sawers or Saw worker	2 ½ or 2 *dams* per sq. *gaz* Based on the quality of work

2 Francisco Pelsaert, *Remonstrantie*, c. 1626, *Jahangir's India*, translated into English by W.H. Moreland and P. Geyl, Cambridge, 1925, pp. 60, 77.
3 *Ibid.*
4 *Ibid.*, p. 60.
5 Abul Fazl, *A'in-i-Akbari*, translated into English in Three Vols., by H.S. Warrett, Vol. II, revised by Jadunath Sarkar, Calcutta, 1891, Vol. I, pp. 123, 235-36, 298.

Bildars	Bricklayers	3 ½ or 3 *dams* daily 4 *dams* per *gaz* for making walls with battlements 2 ½ *dams* per *gaz* for laying foundations 2 *dams* for all other kinds of walls ½ *dams* for digging per *gaz*
Chah-Kanor	Well Diggers	2 or 1 ½ *dams* per *gaz*
Ghota-Khor	Labours who cleans wells	4 *dams* per diem in winter 3 *dams* per diem in summer
Khisht-Tarash	Tiles maker	8 *dams* per 100 moulds smoothened
Surkhi-Kob	Pounders of old bricks Glass Cutters Bamboo Cutters	1 ½ *dams* per 8 *mans* 100 *dams* per *gaz* 2 *dams* per diem
Lakhira	Varnishers	2 *dams* per diem
Ab-Kash	Water Carreier	3 *dams* per diem
	Beast Keeper	5 – 30 *dams* per month
	Matchlock keepers	2 ¾ - 7 ½ *dams* per month

According to Pelsaert, peon or servants are exceedingly numerous in this country, for everyone- "be he mounted soldier, merchant, or king's officials- keeps as many as his position and circumstances permit"[6].

William Hawkins mentioned 36,000 servants doing their job in the court and camp of Emperor Jahangir. They were: potters, gunners, watermen, lackeys, horse keepers, elephant keepers, tent-men, cooks, light bearers, gardeners and beast keepers etc. Their wages were paid monthly out of the central treasury. Hawkins describes their pay from 3 to 10 rupees.[7] The domestic servants also received presents and gifts from the princes and the princesses.[8]

Other than those mentioned above, were the slaves, who formed an important institution throughout the medieval period. They worked under the direct supervision of the king and were employed in the inner departments of the palace. They worked as

6 Pelsaert, p. 61.
7 Hawkins, *Hawkins' Voyages*, ed. By Sir R.C. Markham, Hakluyt Society, 1877, p. 420.
8 Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India*, trans. William Irvine, 4 Vols., Indian Text Series, London, 1907, Vol. II, pp. 330-31.

guards, spies, scribes and servants for small jobs. They were given wages regularly.[9] Manucci gives an elaborate list of the names of the chief slaves of the royalty which were about forty in number.[10] According to Linschoten, male and female slaves were kept by the Portuguese to earn money. Male slaves were sent in the market to do labour and female slaves did needle work (embroidery) at home. Some slaves were sent to fetch water and sell it in the streets. Female slaves made all sort of confectures and preserved fruits. Young girls were sent to the markets to do different jobs and the money brought by them was taken by their masters.[11]

Some of the important one were; *Sarafchi* (those who served food to the royal house hold), musicians and singers, *Pankha Bearers* (those who drive away flies from the body of the emperor)[12], *Gurzbardars* (the mace bearers)[13], the umbrella bearers[14], Water carriers[15], Royal *Harkaras* (news messenger or sort of spy)[16], Porters[17], Palanquin carriers[18], Beast Keepers[19], *silahdar* (horse attendant), *bailwan* (carter), *farrash* (tent-pitcher), *masalchi* (torch bearer), *Darban* (door keepers)[20], *mahawat* (elephant attendant) and *santal* (foot messengers).[21] All of these constituted the lowest ring of the social ladder.

Middle Class

The middle class occupied an important position in contributing to the economic condition of the country during the seventeenth century. The middle stratum constituted of a significant number of the population and was growing at a considerable rate. There were a number of merchants and there were the bankers, jewellers, brokers, book keepers and clerks who contributed to the economy of the

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9 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, pp. 333-34.
10 *Ibid.*
11 Linschoten, *Purchas*, Vol. X, p.231.
12 Finch, *Early Travels*, p. 164; Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 313; Finch, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 74.
13 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, pp. 88-89; Thomas Roe, *Travels in India in the Seventeenth Century*, by Sir Thomas Roe and Dr. John Fryer, London, 1873, p. 74.
14 Thomas Roe, *Travels in India*, p. 72.
15 Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 299, n. 3; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 76; Hawkins, *Hawkins' Voyages*, p. 420.
16 J. Ovington, *A voyage to Surat in the year 1689*, ed., H.G. Rawlinson, New Delhi, 1994, p. 137.
17 Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, trans. by V. Ball, ed., William Crooke, New Delhi, 1977, Vol. II, p. 264.
18 Thomas, Coryat, *Early Travels*, p.278; *A'in.*, Vol. I, p. 264.
19 Ovington, p. 84.
20 Fray Sebastien Manrique, *Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique*, trans. C.E. Luard assisted by H. Hosten, 2 Vols., Hakluyt Society, London, 1927, Vol. II, p. 210.
21 Pelsaert, pp. 61-62; Ovington, p. 149.

country.[22] Further there were the government officials and beyond that were the priests[23], astrologers, writers, calligraphists, translators[24]; teachers, scholars, physicians[25], craftsmen, artisans[26] and court servants or gentlemen troopers[27] who formed a more informal group in the middle class. This class was temperamentally very orthodox and sober minded. Although they lived comfortably, they usually avoided display of wealth and moreover, adopted means to appear indigent.[28]

The profession of the physician was very prevalent in the Mughal period. There were many physicians throughout the country who were skilled in medicine. Most of these were *Banians*[29], although there were many from Persia in the royal household.[30] Their monthly pays ranged from rupees two hundred to rupees four hundred per visit and addition to that they also received pricey gifts from the prince or his daughters. The physicians visiting the royal household were treated very well.[31]

The shopkeepers dealt in spices, drugs, fruits, cotton goods, or maybe some other commodity. This was also one of the respectable professions and it paid average to good income, varying on the type of commodity and the area of the shop. Most of them were well to do.[32]

The priests were generally *Brahmans*, who were appointed as the in charge of the temple, performing the daily rituals for their deities. Apart from that, they were also invited at personal households of the people to solemnize marriage ceremonies or to conduct some festive ritual or some other type of ceremony such as the one for a new-born. They were served the best food of the household and were also given gifts.

The artisans and the craftsmen usually worked in the royal *karkhanas* or workshops, which were set up to carry out arts and crafts work for the royal palace.

22 Pelsaert, pp. 77-78.
23 Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 182; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol III, p. 53; Pelsaert, p. 77.
24 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, (Suppl.), ed. Syed Nawab Ali and C.N. Seddon, Baroda, 1928, p. 58; *A'in.*, Vol. I, pp. 106, 107, 110.
25 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, pp. 49, 332; Jean de Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, edited by Surendra Nath Sen, Indian Records Series, New Delhi, 1949, p. 81.
26 Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, translated on the basis of Irving's Brock's version and annotated by Archibald Constable, Originally published by Oxford University Press, London, 1934, 2nd Indian edition revised by Vincent A. Smith, New Delhi, 1992, p. 259.
27 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 334.
28 Bernier, p. 225; see also, Pelsaert, p. 63.
29 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 81.
30 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 333.
31 *Ibid.*, pp. 330-31.
32 Pelsaert, p. 63.

Big halls were set up for the artisans to work. There were many embroiders, goldsmiths and painters etc. in these royal *karkhanas*.[33] Those who were not part of the royal *karkhanas* carried out their work independently, outside the palace or outside the houses of the upper strata. Their pays varied from place to place based on the type of work being done and the prevalent market rate.

Then there were the court servants or the gentlemen troopers, who were the immediate servants of the king or the emperor. There were about three thousand or four thousand servants in such troop. They were paid handsomely. Their salaries ranged from forty rupees a month to as much as rupees seven thousand a month; however, these salaries were gradually incremented based on merit and the services of the person and sometimes the servant's good fortune.[34]

Upper Class

The urban society of the seventeenth century had an extravagant upper class which lived in much pomp and show.[35] This stratum consisted of the nobles, the high ranked *mansabdars*, the high ranked government officials and the top ranking merchants. As Bernier mentioned about the huge difference in the lifestyle of the upper and the lower class, "there is no middle state...a man must either be of the highest rank or live miserably"[36], he attempted to highlight the superfluous lifestyle of the upper class in comparison to the lower class. Although this statement is a bit contradictory with reference to the absence of the middle state as there have been many travellers, who have mentioned a significant and gradually growing middle class. As mentioned by Pires, the Muslim nobles were living an honourable life as a privileged class set high above the run of ordinary humanity.[37] One good example of this would be the governor, who lived a luxurious life, full of pomp and dignity. Every morning, he used to attend 300 footmen, firearms and three elephants, 40 horses and 20 banners of state with trumpet of kettledrums.[38] In administrative tour, the governor rides an elephant with beast carriers. A servant was accompanied to fan

33 Bernier, p. 259.
34 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, pp. 346-49.
35 Pelsaert, p. 64.
36 Bernier, p. 252.
37 Tome Pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires*: An Account of the East from the Red Sea to Japan, trans. Armando Cortasao, Hakluyt Society, London, 1947, p. 40.
38 John Fryer, *A New Account of East Indies and Persia being Nine Years Travels*, 1672-81, edited by Willam Crooke in Three Vols., Hakluyt Society, Cambridge, 1909, Vol. I, p. 96.

him.[39] Similarly, on the day of coronation, the pomp of the governor was just like a king. He led the procession, scattered rupees followed by the horses and elephants, leopards, palanquin bearers, *mullas*, merchants and kettledrums.[40] Thus, it is evident and also corroborated by many European sources[41], that the upper class was living a sumptuously rich and luxurious life. They tried to follow the lifestyle of the king or the emperor.

Accommodations of the classes

The habitats of the lower classes were humble, which is apparent because of their low wages and poor living conditions. Their houses were made of mud, straw, cane and the roofs were general thatched or covered with palm leaves or any such similar materials.[42] Tavernier describing the dwellings of the lower cadre in Dacca says, "Dacca houses were built of bamboo and mud"[43] and similarly in Surat, they were made of reeds, barns, clay and cow-dung etc.[44] Fitch described Masulipatam as good and fruitful, although said that all the houses were made of thatched roofs.[45] Pelsaert ascertained the condition of the dwellings of common people in the same condition. But in Kashmir he observed the houses of the poor made of pinewood 'the interstices filled with Olay', which gave an elegant look and were well ventilated.[46] He also says, mentioning about the interior of a poor person's house that, "Furniture is little or none, except some earthenware pots to hold water and for cooking and two beds, one for the man, the other for his wife....Their bedclothes are scanty, merely a sheet, or perhaps two, serving both as under and over-sheet; this is sufficient in the hot weather, but the cold nights are miserable indeed, and they try to keep warm over little cow-dung fires which are lit outside the doors, because the houses have no fire-

39 Ovington, p. 136.

40 Fryer, Vol. I, pp. 107-08.

41 Pelsaert, p. 64; Tavernier, Vol. I. P. 105; Bernier, p. 252; John Albert de Mandelslo, *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India*, edited by M.S. Commissariat, Oxford university press, London, 1931, New Delhi, 1995, p. 24, mentioning about the founder of a mosque says, "for the Founder, who was a rich Banya merchant,...was living in my time".; Monserrate, *Commentary on his Journey to the Court of Akbar*, translated by J.S. Hoyland and annotated by S.N. Banerjee, Cuttack, 1922, p. 97.

42 Pelsaert, p. 61; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 49; Finch, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 75, about the houses of Agra.; Fitch, *Purchas*, Vol. X, pp. 180,184-85, mentions about the houses in Patna and Sonargaon; Linschoten, *Purchas*, Vol. X, pp. 247-48, he found the lodging of poor persons very small and low with the toppings of straw.

43 Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 100,105; *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 138.

44 Ralph Fitch, *The First Englishmen in India: Letters and Narratives of Sundry Elizabethans Written by Themselves*, ed. by J. Courtenay Locke, London, 1930, p. 119.

45 Fitch, *Purchas*, Vol. X, pp. 172-73.

46 Pelsaert, p. 34.

places or chimneys..."[47]. Gentiles or Hindus were fond of keeping a wash of cow-dung on the floors of their houses. Della Valle described in a somewhat detailed manner the custom of using cow-dung for beautifying the floors of the houses.[48] "Cow-dung, which was spread like a wash over the floors of the houses, meant not only for elegancy and ornamentation, but it was also a cheap remedy against plague".[49] Owing to the thatched roofs many of such cottages easily caught fire. Bernier mentioned about the thatched cottages in Delhi, more than 60,000 of which caught fire because of prevalent winds in the summer.[50]

This clearly describes the living conditions of the poor. Streynsham Master could not see anything different and almost the same situation prevailed in Bengal and Masulipatam when he visited these regions.[51] Monserrate restating the same added, "The common people live in lowly huts and tiny cottages, and hence, if a traveller has seen one of these cities, he has seen them all".[52] It is evident from the above statement that the houses or the dwellings along with the living conditions of the lower class were almost the same throughout the country.

The middle class was well to do, not as good as the upper class, but somewhat having a moderate living standard. The houses were bigger and well-built than those of the lower class but still smaller and inferior to the accommodations of the upper class or the nobles. Same goes with the interior decoration and the quality and the variety of furniture inside the houses. The houses were spacious and the quality of build was also good. As Fryer described the houses of the middle class in Surat, he mentioned, "very many noble lofty houses of the moor merchants, flat at top and terraced with plaster".[53] The houses of the middle class were generally dwelled at the epicentre of the city, where most of the market was located[54] and the shopkeepers preferred to live at the upper storey of their shops, located along the sides of the

47 Pelsaert, p. 61.
48 Pietro Della Valle, *The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India*, trans. Edward Grey, Hakluyt Society, 2 Vols., London, 1892, Vol. II, pp. 230-31.
49 Thomas Roe, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 440.
50 Bernier, p. 246.
51 Streynsham Master, *'The Diaries of Streynsham Master and other papers relating thereto'*, ed. R.C. Temple, Indian Records Series, 2 Vols. London, 1911, Vol. II, pp. 92-93, 174-75.
52 Monserrate, *Commentary*, pp. 21, 219.
53 Fryer, Vol. I, p. 231.
54 Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia*, edited by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Vol. II, entitled *'Travels in Asia'* Hakluyt Society, London, 1914, Vol. II, p. 218; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 96.

important roads of the town.[55] Similarly the houses of the merchants were built over their ware houses at the back of the arcades.[56] Although the more rich merchants preferred to live outside the city in the open to which they retired after the hours of business.[57] Bernier describes the houses of the shopkeepers on the street as, "They look handsome enough from the street, and appear tolerably commodious within, they are airy, at a distance from the dust; and communicate with the terrace roofs, on which the inhabitants sleep at night".[58] He also describes the accommodations of the petty *Mansebdars*, *Omrahs*, officers of justice and rich merchants in Delhi as, "Very few are built entirely of brick or stone, and several are made of only clay and straw, yet they are airy and pleasant, most of them having courts and gardens, being commodious inside and containing good furniture. The thatched roof is supported by a layer of long, handsome and strong canes, and the clay walls are covered with fine white lime".[59] Most of the middle class residences were small and congested and occupied by large families and their cattle.[60]

The upper class as discussed earlier consisted of the nobles, high ranked *mansebdars*, rich merchants and high ranked government officials. Thus, their extravagant and luxurious residences symbolized by their high status and the enormous wealth.[61] It has been said that 'the men followed the creed of their rulers', which means that, they followed the pattern set by the king. The upper class mostly lived in the capital and the important provinces i.e. Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Multan and Ahmedabad. Their residences were generally situated on the banks of a river.[62] The houses of the upper classes were beautiful and well built.[63] Pelsaert describing the houses of the upper class says, "They are noble and pleasant, with many apartments, but there is not much in the way of an upper story, except a flat roof, on which to

55 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 79; Bernier, p. 245; Manrique, Vol. II, p. 223, who speaking of Merchant in Multan says that his residence was located on the chief street.
56 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, pp. 12, 60; Bernier, p. 245.
57 Tavernier, Vol. I. 97; Bernier, p. 245.
58 Bernier, p. 245.
59 *Ibid.*, pp. 246-47.
60 *Ibid.*, pp. 246, 285.
61 Mandelslo, p. 26; Monserrate, *Commentary*, p. 97.
62 Bernier, pp. 247, 284; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 47; *A.N.*, Vol. II, p. 187; see also Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* translated to English by Alexander Rogers, edited by Henry Beveridge in Two Vols., London, 1909-1914, Delhi, 1989, Vol. I, p. 249; Pelsaert, p. 4, he mentions about the houses of the lords located on the bank of river Jamuna such as, Mirza Abdulla, son of Khan Azam...;Raja Madho Singh (2000 horse).
63 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 105.

enjoy the evening air".[64] Similarly, Terry mentions about the houses in Ahmedabad as, "Many of their houses are built high and flat on toppe, from where in the cool season of the day they take in fresh ayre".[65] The residences were very commodious and consisted of large halls and rooms for different purposes and had several courts inside them.[66] Some of these residences also had secret underground passages leading out to unfrequented pathways, to be used in time of danger.[67] The houses of the upper class had gardens, trees, basins or tanks of water[68]; and in the hot weather the tanks are filled daily with fresh water, drawn by oxen from wells.[69] While some houses had halls installed with large fans for the hot weather, some of the houses had *kas-kanays*, which are small and neat houses made of straw or odoriferous roots which were moistened by water to keep the room cool.[70]

Pelsaert describing the build of the houses of the upper class mentions, "the walls are built with mud instead of mortar, but the white plaster of the walls is noteworthy....They use unslaked lime, which is mixed with milk, gum, and sugar into a thin paste".[71] Della Valle on the other hand mentions that the residences were built of stone, timber, lime, brick and mortar and the tiles were used to cover the roofs.[72] The roofs were generally made of tiles[73] or were thatched.[74] Some of these houses were made of Bamboos.[75] These residences were quite costly, as their owners spent lavishly on their construction.[76] The interior of such a house as described by Bernier had a cotton mattress, four inches in thickness, which covered the entire floor. During summers, a fine cotton cloth is spread over it and a silk carpet in the winter. At the

64 Pelsaert, p. 66; De Laet, p. 91.
65 Terry, *Purchas*, Vol. IX, p. 21; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 22; Careri, p. 247.
66 Careri, p. 247; De Laet, p. 91; Pelsaert, p. 66.
67 Jadunath Sarkar, *India of Aurangzeb, (Topography, Statistics, and Roads)*, compared with the India of Akbar, with extracts from *The Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh and The Chahar Gulshan*, trans. and annotated by Jadunath Sarkar, 1964, p. 61.
68 Bernier, p. 247; Pelsaert, p. 66.
69 Pelsaert, p. 66.
70 Bernier, p. 247; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 191.
71 Pelsaert, p. 66.
72 Della Valle, Vol. I, p. 67; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 22; Terry, *Purchas*, Vol. IX, p. 21, speaking of Ahmedabad says, "The materials of their best building are bricks or stone well squared and composed...."
73 Della Valle, Vol. I, p. 67; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 22; *K.T.*, pp. 35, 61.
74 Bernier, p. 246.
75 *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 134; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 22.
76 *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 134, the cost of a house is mentioned at rupees five thousand; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 22, mentions, "...one cannot build and ordinary house at less charge then five or six hundred livers for brick and twice as much for lime."

most conspicuous side of the chamber are one or two mattresses, with fine coverings quilted in the form of flowers and ornamented with delicate silk embroidery, interspersed with gold and silver. Each mattress has a large cushion of brocade to lean upon, and there are other cushions placed around the room, covered with brocade, velvet or flowered satin. Five or six feet from the floor, the sides of the room are full of niches, cut in a variety of shapes, tasteful and well proportioned, in which are seen porcelain vases and flower pots.[77] Manucci adds, "The decorative material largely consisted of pottery, which was sent to court as a rarity and was used by the nobles".[78] The use of high end carpets and cushions in the upper class apartments has been mentioned by several other travellers.[79] This is a fair description of a house of the upper class, which also indicates that there was little or no furniture inside their houses which is also corroborated by Pelsaert who mentions, "They have not furniture of the kind we delight in, such as tables, stools, benches, cupboards, bedsteads, etc.; but their cots, or sleeping places, and other furniture of kinds unknown in our country, are lavishly ornamented with gold and silver, and they use more gold and silver in serving food than we do.[80] Manrique, referring to the furniture of Asaf Khan says, "The bedstead was made entirely of the finest gold and inlaid with precious stones of the finest kind and most brilliant colours, which besides adding to its value made it most attractive in appearance.[81] The ceilings of the house were adorned with carvings and paintings.[82] Glazed frames and bamboo curtains were used for windows and doors. Coloured glass was rarely used as it had to be imported. Manrique who visited the residence of Asaf Khan in Lahore appreciating his residence says, "well lighted and extremely attractive, as it was lighted all around by series of casements fitted with windows of different colours..."[83] Even Fryer has mentioned the use of painted glass in Surat as, "they had usually folding doors, screened with checks or latises, carved in wood, or Ising-glass, or more commonly oister shells".[84]

77 Bernier, pp. 247-48.
78 Manucci, Vol. II, p. 426.
79 Terry, *Purchas*, Vol. IX, pp. 30, 34-35; Pelsaert, p. 67; Bernier, pp. 247-48; De Laet, pp. 81, 91; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 218; Careri, pp. 247-48; Manrique, Vol. II, p. 208, who says about the residence of Asaf Khan in Lahore, "The floor...was entirely covered with rich and gaily coloured carpets."
80 Pelsaert, p. 67.
81 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 208.
82 Monserrate, *Commentary*, p. 219; Bernier, p. 248, who mentions, "The ceiling is gilt and painted".
83 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 208.
84 Fryer, Vol. I, p. 231.

In Kashmir, the houses of the upper class had private canals which were connected with lake for the purpose of boating.[85] Besides their city residences, some well to do persons had houses built in the suburbs of the big cities as pleasure resorts, such houses being provided with all amenities and built in the same luxurious style.[86] Manrique, on his way from Agra to Biana, speaks of the numerous gardens and country houses of the courtiers.[87] The country houses enable them to get close to the nature during their holidays and to get of the artificial life of the town. All in all, the houses of the upper class were luxurious and comfortable and were a means to display their wealth and fortune.

Clothing and Accessories

Every aspect of the living conditions of the classes was obviously directly proportional to the earning capacity of the individuals, be it the accommodations, the clothing or the food. The clothing particularly, also depended on the weather and climate of the area, the availability of a certain type of material and also the prevailing vogue or social customs.

The lower class of the society or the commoners wore very little clothes owing to their low wages and also because of the generally hot climate of the country. As mentioned in *A'in-i-Akbari*, the common people generally went quite naked excepting a piece of cloth tied around their waist reaching their knees.[88] Manucci describing the dresses of the general population such as the labourers, soldiers and other ordinary men, says, "The men's clothing were comprised of a cloth to bind around their head, a string around their middle to which they attached a fragment piece of cloth about the size of a napkin to cover the middle part of the body like a *langot*. Besides, a sheet like cloth was used to cover the body, which served in night as the bedsheet".[89] Tavernier describing the common people's clothing in Malabar said, "Common people in Malabar went quite naked, only using a cloth to cover their private parts of their body".[90] Thevenot, in his written account gives reference about the clothing of the common people. He mentioned about shirts, partly open or open from top to

85 Bernier, p. 398
86 Richard Steel and John Crowther, *Purchas*, Vol. IV, p. 267.
87 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 153.
88 *A'in.*, Vol. I, p. 126.
89 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. III, p. 39-40.
90 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 197.

bottom, were in vogue among all men. These shirts resembled with Persian *Qabas* or gown like dresses. A kind of coat, *arcaluck* was put on. *Qabas* were generally made of cotton cloth and was easy to maintain.[91]

It is evident from multiple travellers' account that the main choice of cloth for the poor and the common people was cotton, as it was widely available and inexpensive.[92] This was also due to the reason that India was a tropical country geographically, hence, mostly throughout the year except three to four months was hot or humid, which did not allow an overabundance of clothes.[93] Rich and poor in Calicut went around naked, only wearing silk or cotton cloth in the middle.[94] In Malabar, the king and the commoners wore very brief clothes and the king could be distinguished from the common man by the ornaments of precious metals he wore.[95] Similarly, in south India, the kings and princes did not wear much clothes or preferred cotton clothes over silk because of the excessive heat in the region.[96]

In winter the people used quilted jackets and caps.[97] In Kashmir, where the winters prevailed to a bit more extent than the rest of the country, people could not afford cotton as it was expensive there. But their clothing consisted of woollen gowns and clouts, though poverty prevented them to change garments frequently.[98] Stockings and gloves were very rarely used because of the heat.[99] The rich could afford footwear, the poor usually moved without them.[100] Wearing ornaments was common among the men and women, the rich and the poor. Though the ornaments of the rich were generally made of gold and diamonds, the poor people's ornaments were made of copper, silver and other metals of less importance.[101]

The upper class generally followed the trend set by their kings. They tried their best to imitate the dressing and the living standard of the king and due to their enormous wealth; they were successful in doing so upto some extent. The upper class

91 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 50.
92 Della Valle, Vol. I, p. 42; Vol. II, p. 360; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 50.
93 Bernier, p. 240.
94 Della Valle, Vol. II, p. 360.
95 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 197.
96 Della Valle, Vol. II, pp. 378-80.
97 Purchas, Vol. X, pp. 178-79.
98 Pelsaert, pp. 34-35.
99 Bernier, p. 240; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 52.
100 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 52. Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p. 193.
101 Bernier, p. 224; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 53; Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 323.

spent significantly on their clothing. The nobles changed their clothes daily.[102] Also to mention, the Muslims spent lavishly on their dresses.[103] The well to do Muslims wore *Shalwars*[104] and breeches[105] or tight trousers. *Shalwars* were of three kinds, single, double and waded, and breeches, though loose around their waist, were invariably tight from the mid-leg to the ankles and were long enough to be plaited.[106] A gown like dress the *Qaba* was worn by both the Hindus and the Muslims.[107] It was made of a variety of stuffs and was usually long and came down to the ankles.[108] It was fastened by strings. Hindus tied the strings on the left side while the Muslims tied the same on the right.[109] Bernier has described the attire of the chief of the *Brahmans* at Banaras as, "He wore a white silk scarf tied about his waist and hanging half way down the leg, and another tolerably large scarf of red silk which he wears as a cloak on his shoulders".[110] Some people wore narrow waist-coats with sleeves upto the elbow.[111] When the weather was cold, the people of the upper class also wore the *arcaluck* which is a jacket quilted with cotton. They also wore a vest called the *cadeby* (another form of *Qaba*), which as mentioned by Thevenot, "are cloath of Gold, or other rich stuff, and are lined with sables which cost very dear".[112] He also mentions about the *Chals (Shawls)*, which the people wore or carried in winters or when they went abroad, made of the fine wool from Kashmir. "They are sold at five and twenty or thirty crowns a piece if they be fine, nay there are some that cost fifty crowns but these are extraordinary fine".[113]

It has been observed by some travellers that the people in the medieval India tend to wear a turban or some sort of head gear while going out of their houses, as it was considered a symbol of dignity and people who went about bare headed were

102 Della Valle, Vol. II, p. 456.
103 Mandelslo, p. 64.
104 *A'in.*, Vol. I, pp. 89-90.
105 Mandelslo, p. 64.
106 Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, 1688-1723, in Two Vols., London, 1811, Vol. I, p. 163; Della Valle, pp. 410-11; Thevenot *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, pp. 50-51.
107 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 51.
108 Della Valle, Vol. II, p. 410.
109 Hamilton, Vol. I, p. 164.
110 Bernier, p. 341.
111 Mandelslo, p. 51.
112 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 52.
113 *Ibid.*

respected less.[114] The way of wearing or tying the turban differed on the basis of different castes and provinces.[115] Thevenot mentions about the turbans of the Muslims, which are made of fine cloth from Bengal, that are from five and upto thirty *Ells*[116] in length, yet not weighing more than four ounces.[117] The cost of such a turban ranged from five crowns to thirty crowns. There were even more expensive turbans, which were used by the rich upper class, the cloth of which was mixed with gold threads[118] and which cost about forty five French *livres*.[119] The Turbans worn by the Muslims were usually white and round shaped, while those of the Hindus were coloured, straight, high and pointed.[120]

"The heat is so intense in *Hindoustan,* that no one, not even the king, wears stockings". This statement by Bernier[121] indicates that stockings were hardly used by anyone, which is also corroborated by Thevenot.[122] The designs of the shoes were similar to those of the Turkish *Papouches*[123]. He also mentions about the stuff used for making the shoe, which is *Maroquin,* or Turkey-leather.[124] The other stuffs used to make the shoes were red leather[125], Spanish leather[126], velvet[127] and brocade[128]. The people according to their wealth got them embroidered with gold[129], silk flowers[130] and even got them studded with rubies and gems[131].

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114 Mundy, Vol. II, pp. 110-111; De Laet, pp. 80-81, who calls it a sash; Mandelslo, p. 53, describes it as a 'Coissure'.

115 Fryer, *Travels in India*, p. 317; Mandelslo, p. 317.

116 An obsolete measure of length. English ell=45 inches, the old French ell was about 47 inches (Indian Travels of Thevenot and Carreri, p. 300, n. 12). Going by this conversion, the length of the thirty ells turban would be approx. 113 ft. or 3390 cm. which seems to be a bit over exaggerated.

117 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 52.

118 Mandelslo, p. 64; Fryer, p. 450; Della Vale, pp. 410-12; Bernier, p. 240.

119 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 52.

120 Pyrard, Vol. II, p. 137.

121 Bernier, p. 240.

122 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 52, he mentions, "As for stockings the Indians are at no charge, for they use neither stockings nor socks, but put their shoes on their naked feet."

123 Bernier, p. 240; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 52, he gives a brief description of *pa-posh* under the notes on P. 300, where he mentions that these are Turkish shoes, made almost like slippers.

124 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 52.

125 Ovington, p. 38; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 53.

126 Mandelslo, p. 51.

127 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. III, p. 39; Mandelslo, p. 51; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, pp. 52-53.

128 Mandelslo, p. 51.

129 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 52.

130 *Ibid.*, p. 53.

131 Varthema, Di Ludovico of Bologna, *The Itinerary of (1502-08)* ed. N.M. Peinzl, p. 48.

Men accessorized themselves by using a *katari* or dagger, which were fitted with golden handles set with precious stones.[132] Some wore pendants or rings in their ears. Bracelets of gold were also worn by the rich around their wrist.[133] Pearl necklaces were also popular among the male gentry belonging to the upper class.[134]

Clothing of the Emperors

The European travellers describe the dresses of the emperors of the Mughal India as magnificent, which is quite apparent as the kings in the Mughal period were particular about their appearance, the fashion and variety in dresses. Emperor Akbar had employed skilled tailors to design dresses which suited his highly evolved aesthetic taste and to constantly improve his wardrobe.[135] He was fonder of clothes than even of food.[136] Akbar wore garments of silk, beautifully embroidered in gold with pearls and gold jewellery.[137] Monserrate also describes a turban which Akbar adopted as, "...sort of turban, small and light that held tight around his head. It was a long wreath of cloth half yard broad, white or coloured, sometimes interwoven in spaces with threads of silver and gold or coloured silk.[138]

Jahangir like his father was highly fashionable and the dresses he wore were made of high quality material and were adorned with costly rubies, pearls and diamonds in abundance. His turban was specially designed and decorated with even more jewels.[139]

Shah-jahan carried the same sense of fashion as his pedigree. His dresses were similar to his ancestors, yet gaudier. Thevenot describes the notable difference in the dresses of Shah-jahan from his predecessors; the ribbons, which made the dresses furthermore attractive. He says, they (ribbons) had become "two fingers broad, and a foot long, and there were seven or eight of them from the upper part down to the haunches", of which only first and last were tied, while the rest "hung negligently as being more graceful".[140]

132 Mandelslo, p. 63.
133 Fryer, *Travels in India*, p. 216.
134 Bernier, p. 268, he mentions, "...many of the *Gentiles* wear their strings of beads".
135 *A'in.*, Vol. I, p. 88.
136 W.H. Moreland, *India at the death of Akbar, An Economic Study,* Delhi, 1974, p. 198; Della Valle, Vol. II, pp. 456-57.
137 Monserrate, *Commentary*, p. 198.
138 *Ibid.*, pp. 196-97.
139 Thomas Roe, *The Embassy*, pp. 283-84.
140 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 36.

For Aurangzeb, some sources say that he was of modest taste when it came to clothing and adopted simplicity. The emperor's coat was always made of moderately prices material, for each *Qaba* did not exceed rupees 10 in cost.[141] However, this is somehow contradicted by Bernier's description of Aurangzeb's appearance in the courts. He mentions, "The King appeared seated upon his throne, at the end of the great hall, in the most magnificent attire. His vest was of white and delicately flowered satin, with silk and gold embroidery of the finest texture. The turban, of gold cloth, had an aigrette whose base was composed of diamonds of extraordinary size and value, besides an Oriental Topaz, which may be pronounced unparalleled, exhibiting a lustre like the sun. A necklace of immense pearls, suspended from his neck, reached to the stomach".[142] It is difficult to ascertain whether Aurangzeb was of moderate taste or not, or maybe a bit of both but the vivid description by Bernier adds to the common dressing habits of the emperors during the Mughal India.

Dressing and Accessories of Women

During Mughal period, it was very simple for the travellers to differentiate between the rich and the not so rich women on the basis of their dress, ornaments and other luxuries and activities.

Hindu women (commoners) ordinarily wore a sari and a small jacket or brasier without a shirt around the chest popularly called *angiya.* According to Della Valle, "Hindu ladies liked the red colour and their clothes were usually striped and dyed in that colour".[143] The Bengali women, in many cases, used *kocha* (i.e. the tuck of the lower garments which hangs loosely in front of the sari). The Muslim ladies in fact were distinguished mainly by their *shalwars* (breeches) and shirts with half-length sleeves; the rest of the arm was profusely adorned with numerous precious stones and ornaments.[144] Nobody wore stockings,[145] but precious ornaments were put on the legs over the breeches.[146]

141 Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 36; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 342.
142 Bernier, p. 268.
143 Della Valle, *The travels of Pietro Della Valle in India,* New Delhi, 1991, ed. Edward Grey, Vol. I, p. 45.
144 Jean de Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri,* ed. Surendranath Sen, New Delhi, 1949, p. 53; Della Valle, *travels*, Vol. I, p. 45.
145 Thevenot, *Indian Travels*, p. 52.
146 J. Ovington, *A voyage to Suratt,* ed. H.G. Rawlinson, New Delhi 1994, p. 185; Joannes De Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogol,* tr. J. S. Hoyland PP. 80-81; John Francis Gemelli Careri, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri, Indian Travels,* ed. Surendranath Sen, New Delhi, 1949 P. 247; Nicolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor*, tr. William Irvine, Calcutta, reprint 1965, Vol. II, p. 318.

The wives and daughters of the nobles used the dresses made of costly stuffs.[147] They changed their dresses frequently. Manucci gives a clear picture of their aristocratic dresses thus, "they (ladies of the upper classes) are also obliged thereby to put on such exceedingly thin raiment that their skin shows through. They call these clothes *siricas* (*sari*) and others *malmal* (*muslin*). Ordinarily they wear two or even three garments, each weighing not more than one ounce, and worth from forty to fifty rupee each. This is without counting the gold lace and that they are in the habit of adding. They sleep in these clothes, and renew them every 24 hours and never put them on again, but give them away to their servants".[148] The upper class ladies also wore costly *shawls* during the winter around their head and shoulders.[149]

The dresses of the middle class did not differ very much from those of upper class except in regard of the quality of the material and the frequency with which they change them. Their 'breeches' or *paijamas* were made of ordinary cotton cloth and over these they used to wear close fitting shirts[150]. The shirts of the Muslims were made differently than from those of the Hindus, which were open in front.[151] They probably used '*caba*' and '*arcaluck*'[152] of ordinary cloth. A girdle of cotton cloth was tied over the upper garment round the waist. Ladies, both Hindus and Muhammadans, covered their heads with a *dopatta* of fine cotton or silk wrought with silver or gold threads,[153] Muhammadan ladies, whenever they moved out put on white shrouds or *burqas*.[154] The lower classes wore scanty clothes because they could not afford them. In winter they generally had no woolen garments. They burned cow-dung cakes to warm themselves when indoors. However the women of the lower classes used inferior articles to adorn their bodies.

147 Della Valle, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 44. According to him these dresses, had the work of gold flowers.

148 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 318;

149 Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, tr. Vincent A. Smith, London, second edition, 1992, p. 403. He mentions the value of shawl as 150 rupees; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 318. He refers, the ladies of aristocratic society wore Qabas of fine Kashmiri wool during the cold weather and some of them also used Kashmiri shawls of the finest texture which could be passed through a small finger-ring.; Thevenot, *Indian Travels*, p. 52. He mentions the cost of one Kashmiri *Shawl* (extra-ordinary fine) 5 & 20 and upto 50 crowns.

150 Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 308, He mentions, the habit of both men and women are little different, made for the most part of white cotton-cloth...They wear long breeches underneath made close to their bodies.

151 Thevenot, *Indian Travels*, p. 51.

152 *Ibid.*; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 318.

153 John Albert De Mandelslo, *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India*, tr. M. S. Commissariat, Madras, 1995, p. 78.

154 De Laet, *The Empire*, pp. 80-81;

The shoes were made of leather and the upper part was sometimes covered with velvet[155] and leather.[156] Upper class ladies embroidered their costly slippers with gold, silver or silk flowers.[157] Thevenot says, the stuff they are made of is '*Maroquin*' or Turkey leather and they are much of the same shape as the babouches of the Turks but the persons of quality have them bordered with gold...[158] Poor women moved about without shoes.[159]

It is evident from the account of European travellers that ornaments were the very joy of a woman's heart. All the princesses own six to eight of jewels. Their dresses were superb and costly, perfumed with essence of roses. Every day they change their clothes several times.[160] The use of ornaments was very common with both men and women of the upper class. Sometimes ladies of the well to do classes put on precious jewels and other ornament over the breeches.[161] Almost every part of the body; ears, nose, wrists, ankles, arms was adorned with ornaments. The arms were adorned with Carkanets, bracelets of gold, silver, ivory and set with precious stones.[162] Flat rings of gold and silver were used as earrings. According to Terry, ladies "of qualitie are bedecked with many jewels about their necks and wrists, round about their eares are holes made for pendants and every woman hath one of her nostril pierced, that these when as shee please, shee may weare a ring..."[163] Some among them wore gold or silver rings on the toes.[164] Manucci speaking in the context of the Hindu merchants says, "their children...carry from the birth to seven years of age little bells on their legs, either of gold or silver and a little chain of gold or silver around their waist".[165] Ornaments became totally abandoned when a woman unfortunately became a widow.[166]

155 Thevenot, *Indian Travels*, p. 53; Mandelslo, *Travels*, p. 78.
156 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. III, p. 37. He mentions shoes of velvet or of red leather.
157 J. Ovington, *A voyage*; Mandelslo, *Travels*, p. 78.
158 Thevenot, *Indian Travels*, p. 53.
159 Mandelslo, *Travels*, p. 79; Ralph Fitch, *Early Travels* in India, ed. William Foster, Hyderabad, 1968, p. 23.
160 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II. p. 317.
161 *Ibid.*; De Laet, *The Empire*, p. 81.
162 Ralph Fitch, *Early Travels*, p. 12; Thevenot, *Indian Travels*, p. 53; Della Valle, Vol. I, p. 45.
163 Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 309; *Indian Travels*, p. 248; John Fryer, *Travels in India in the 17th century*, Madras, 1993, p. 280. He says about the women of Surat, "earrings and nose rings, to which they hang jewels"; see also Thevenot, *Indian Travels*, p. 53; Manucci, *Storia* Vol. III, p. 38; De Laet, *The Empire*, p. 81.
164 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. III, p. 37; Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 322; Ralph Fitch, *Early Travels*, p. 23.
165 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. III, p. 37.
166 *Ibid*, p. 38.; Mandelslo, *Travels*, p. 44

Mandelslo tells us that dressing of hair was carefully done by women, especially of the higher and well-to-do classes. Long hair was considered a mark of beauty.[167] Hindu ladies usually tied their hair behind their heads.[168] Manucci writes: "Their hair is always dressed, plaited and perfumed with scented oil".[169] The Indian ladies frequently used *mehndi* to give red colour to their hand and feet.[170] They also used '*Alta*' as well as '*mahawar*' for their nails and legs for looking brighter and prettier, a creamy ointment called '*Ubatan*' was also used by both men and women. Ladies reddened their lips with betel leaves which served them as lipstick.[171] Precious scents of diverse king were in use by the women, along with that they were also involved in developing newer fragrances themselves, According to Pelseart, "They study day and night how to make perfumes and effacious preserves, such as *mosseri* or *falonj*, containing amber, pearls, gold, opium and other stimulants; but these are mostly for their own use, for they eat them occasionally in the day time, because they produce a pleasant elevation to the spirit. In the cool of the evening they drink a great deal of wine for the women learn the habit quickly from their husbands".[172] Noor-Jahan's mother prepared a new *Itar* (perfume) from roses and named it *Itar-i-Jahangiri.* Such was the involvement of women in fashion and accessories.

Victuals and Refreshments

There was a wide variety of food, drinks and other refreshments available in the Mughal period. The food people consumed was mostly based on the economic profile, their religious customs and also the availability of a certain type of staple food in a particular region. As per the European sources there was not much difference in the food that was consumed by the Hindus and the Muslim classes, except for the use of meat, which was mostly prohibited in the Hindu community barring a few classes.

The commoners did not have much variety in their food; they mostly ate *Khichari,* made of green pulse mixed with rice, which is cooked with water over a little fire until the moisture has evaporated.[173] They also consumed boiled rice with

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167 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. III, p. 38.
168 Fryer, *Travels in India*, p. 182.
169 Manucci, *Storia,* Vol. II, p. 318.
170 *Ibid.*; Fransico Pelseart, *Jahangir's India: The Remonstrantie of Fransisco Pelseart*, tr. W. H. Moreland and P. Geyl, Delhi, 1925, p. 82.
171 Mandelslo, *Travels*, p. 46; Della Valle, Vol. I, p. 36; Fryer, *Travels in India,* p. 280.
172 Pelseart, *Jahangir's India*, p. 65.
173 Pelseart, p. 61-61; Bernier, p. 381; Thvenot, p. 73.

sag, and some other boiled vegetables with salt.[174] While rice was the popular food in Bengal and Gujarat[175], the people of north India mostly consumed *chapatis* made of wheat or barley flour dipped in a little butter.[176] As mentioned earlier, the Hindus were generally vegetarians and those, who were non-vegetarians had to satisfy themselves with meat of an inferior variety and a little of dry and salted fish.[177]

The middle or the well to do classes such as the shopkeepers, traders, merchants, brokers and bankers used to have meals thrice a day, viz. 8-9 in the morning, 4-5 in the afternoon and 8-9 in the night.[178] Their meals consisted of wheat flour (*chapati*), boiled rice and assorted cooked vegetables. *Puris* and *luchis* also formed part of their meals on special occasions.[179] Because of their vegetarian diet, the Hindus restricted themselves to pulses, butter, oil, curd, milk and its several preparations such as *Khir*[180] or *Khowa*[181]. Curd was taken at noon[182] to keep the stomach and the body cool. The staple diet of the Muslims was the meat and a variety of its preparations. They cooked beef, mutton, fish, flesh of goats, sheep and other beasts and birds of prey.[183] They prepared their meat with spices[184], cloves, cinnamon, pepper and many other condiments to enhance the flavour and stimulate the appetite.[185] The *Chapatis* of the rich were called *roghuni*; a bread with great deal of butter.[186] It tasted like a palm cake when mixed with sugar.[187] The vegetarian dishes generally meant for the Hindus were of a special quality containing a major portion of butter, several varieties of pulses, herbs, vegetables and rice, particularly *Birinj*.[188]

The nobles whether Hindu or Muslim, were fond of luxurious and splendid meals. As mentioned by Sir Thomas Roe, upto twenty dishes were served at a time tables of the nobles.[189] The Muslim aristocracy tried to imitate the taste and dishes of

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174 Pran Nath Chopra, *Some aspects of Society and Culture during the Mughal age (1526-1707)*, Agra, 1955, p. 35.
175 *Tuzuk*, p. 76.
176 Mandelslo, p. 64; Della Valle, p. 409; Taveriner, Vol. II, p. 70.
177 Pelseart, p. 61-62; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. III, p. 43.
178 Ovington, pp. 184-85
179 Pran Nath Chopra, *Some aspects*, p. 35.
180 Ovington, p. 183, wrongly calls it *dye* or *dahi*.
181 Mandelslo, p. 13.
182 Bernier, p. 354.
183 Mandelslo, p. 68.
184 Fryer, *Travels in India*, p. 384.
185 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 109.
186 *Ibid*., p. 188.
187 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 188.
188 *Birinj* means rice cooked with certain vegetables. Pran Nath Chopra, *Some aspects*, p. 37.
189 Thomas Roe, *The Embassy*, p. 92.

the royal kitchen. *Birinj* as mentioned earlier was also prepared for the nobles in a different way known as the *Zard Birinj.* [190] Pelseart describing the diet of the Muslim upper classes says, "The food consists of *birinj, aeshalia, pollaeb, zueyla, dupiaza*, also roasted meat and various other good courses, served on very large dishes with too little butter and too much spice for our taste…".[191] Milk and butter being in abundance were taken by all classes of people.[192] The Hindu upper classes, although mostly restricted to vegetarian, had variety and richness in their dishes. Their dishes were made of different kinds of cooked rice, bread, ghee or butter, milk products, sweetmeats, fruits, vegetables and *sags* of different varieties.[193] As we know, that the Hindus were mostly vegetarians, there were some sections of the well to do Hindu society, who consumed non-vegetarian diets such as the *Rajputs*. They ate all kinds of meat except beef and drank wine.[194] According to several travellers, fish was a common food for a majority of the population in Bengal and Orissa, by which it can be assumed that most of the mass, whether Hindu or Muslim, consumed fish in the aforementioned regions.[195]

Apparently the royal kitchen and the diet were sumptuous and vivid. Abul Fazl describing the Imperial kitchen at the time of Akbar says, "Cooks from all countries prepare a great variety of dishes of all kinds of grains, greens, meats; also oily, sweet and spicy dishes. Every day such dishes are prepared as the nobles can scarcely command at their feasts, from which you may infer how exquisite the dishes are which are prepared for his Majesty".[196] Father Monserrate describing the food services of Emperor Akbar says, "His tables were very sumptuous, often consisting forty dishes. They were brought to the chamber, covered and wrapped in linen cloths, which was tied up and sealed by the cook. These dishes were carried up to the door of the dining-chamber by youths with servants walking ahead and the master of the house-hold following them all. At the door, they were taken over by the Eunuchs, who handed them over to the girls serving at the table".[197] *A'in* has a reference of an extravagant five hundred different dishes along with multiple beverages being

190 P.N. Ojha, *Glimpses of Social life in Mughal India*, p. 2.
191 Pelseart, p. 68.
192 *A'in.*, Vol. II, p. 150.
193 Careri, p. 247.
194 Pelsaert, p. 78; Mandelso, p. 58; Manrique, Vol. II, p. 157.
195 Manrique, Vol. II, 157; Bernier, p. 438.
196 *A'in.*, Vol. I, p. 57.
197 Monserrate, *Commentary*, p. 99.

prepared every day.[198] Manucci mentions that a thousand rupees was given as allowance per day for the royal kitchen at the time of Aurangzeb.[199] These descriptions of the royal cuisine and the kitchen are evidence of the luxurious choice and taste of the Mughal emperors.

Both Hindus and Muslims were fond of using a great variety of pickles (*achars*), relishes and flavours in order to stimulate the tongue and to whip up the action of the stomach.[200] They were used to spur the appetite and reopen road to meal.[201] Different types of *achars* were also available in the markets.[202] Manucci mentions different kinds of mango pickles which could be kept in good condition even for two years.[203]

Fruits of different varieties, green of dry were an important part of the diet consumed, more often by the well to do classes, not necessarily restricted to a specific religion. Fruits of different varieties were imported from as far as Persia, Balkh, Bokhara and Samarqand.[204] Almonds, pistachios, walnuts, raisins, prunes, apricots, fresh grapes (black and white, wrapped in cotton), pears, apples (three or four types) and melons were also imported. Being expensive, these imported fruits were consumed mostly by the nobles.[205] Mangoes in particular, were quite popular during the period under discussion. The best of the breed were produced in Bengal and Goa.[206] Bernier mentions that mango juice mixed with milk, was taken by people with bread or even without it[207], which is corroborated by Della Valle.[208]

Betel leaf or *pan* was also popular as consumable refreshment during the Mughal period among all classes of people.[209] Betel was necessarily chewed after meals but most of the people used to take it throughout the day for health, entertainment or delight.[210] According to Tavernier, especially ladies were in the habit

198 *A'in.*, Vol. I, pp. 421-22.
199 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 332.
200 *A'in.*, Vol. I, p. 72.
201 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 127.
202 *E.F.I.* (1637-41), p. 134.
203 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. III, p. 170.
204 Bernier, p. 249.
205 Careri, pp. 250-251; Bernier, p. 249; Manrique, Vol. II, p. 127.
206 Bernier, p. 249.
207 *Ibid.*; Manrique, Vol. II, p. 127.
208 Della Valle, Vol. II, pp. 66-68.
209 Mandelslo, p. 33; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 134; Careri, pp. 206 & 247.
210 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p. 63; Della Valle, Vol. I, p. 36.

of chewing betels throughout the day.[211] Ladies also reddened their lips with betel leaves as it served them as lipstick.[212]

Tobacco, after being introduced into India by the Portuguese in 1605[213], gained rapid popularity equally among the rich and the common people as their chief and customary entertainment after meals.[214] The smoking pipe or the hubble-bubble had a long brass pipe fixed in a brass frame.[215] According to Manucci, people sitting cross-legged at their doors with *hukka* pipes in their mouths were a common sight. He also mentions that the consumption of tobacco increased so much that government daily gained rupees 5000 as a duty on it in Delhi alone.[216]

Tea and Coffee was consumed by a majority of the population, especially by the people in the Coromandel Coast.[217] Although Tavernier mentions that coffee was not much popular among all the classes of people[218], Banians were not restrained from the liberal draughts of tea and coffee to revive their wasted spirits any part of the day.[219] Tea and Coffee were not taken as beverages but as intoxicants.[220] The rich and the nobles were of having tea parties with their friends. Capt. Alexander Hamilton was invited by the *Nawab* of Thatta to "take a dish of coffee" with him, which indicates to one of such events.[221]

A'in mentions the consumption of cold beverages such as "the rose-water-*sherbet* and wholesome lemon juice be prepared and poured out after having been cooled with snow and ice".[222] Consumption of wine was restricted to a few among the great aristocrats, mostly Muslims, though it was not entirely prohibited or unknown to the Hindu well to do classes.[223] Bernier mentioned about the little consumption of alcohol in India due to its prohibition under the Muslim law and also by the people because of the hot climatic condition of the country. However, the few who consumed alcohol, used to go by the country made liquor called the *Arac*, which was made by

211 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 294.
212 Mandelslo, *Travels*, p. 46; Della Valle, Vol. I, p. 36; Fryer, *Travels in India*, p. 280.
213 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 250.
214 Fryer, *Travels in India*, pp. 279-280.
215 Thevenot, p. 74; Manrique, Vol. II, p. 259;
216 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 175.
217 Pyrard, Vol. I, p. 202.
218 Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 23.
219 Ovington, p. 180.
220 Della Valle, p. 365.
221 Hamilton, Vol. II, p. 20.
222 *A'in*, Vol. I, pp. 421-22.
223 Thevenot, p. 23; Careri, p. 200.

distillation of refined sugar.[224] Sometimes it was also made from the distillation of rice and toddy. Another version of the *Arak* was distilled from black sugar mixed with water and according to Ovington, it was as hot as Brandy.[225] The most popular spirits were produced in Bengal and Goa, of which, as per Ovington, the one from Bengal was a much stronger one.[226] The most common drink and probably the cheapest one, was the *tari*, which was sort of a fermented juice of coconut, palm or date trees, which was pleasant in taste and flavour and was popular throughout India.[227] Fryer mentions seamen and soldiers getting drunk on *toddy*.[228] He also mentions about the people of Surat consuming Sack and Brandy, not publicly but privately.[229] Della Valle describes the burnt wine which he consumed in Surat as, "a hot wine, boiled with cloves, cinnamon, and other spices, which the English call the burnt wine, and used to drink frequently in the morning to comfort the stomach".[230]

Amusements and Recreational activities

The Mughal period has been called the age of joy and pleasure on account of organization of different kinds of games, sports, festivals and various other sources of amusement and recreation. Games and amusements are a vital part of social life. Even women were equally involved. Manucci thus sums up the amusement of princesses and other high class ladies, "They have the permission to enjoy the pleasure of the comedy and the dance, to listen to tales and stories of love to recline upon beds of flowers, to walk about in gardens, to listen to the murmuring of the running water, to hear singing or other similar pass-times". [231]

Chess has all along been one of the most common diversions of the Indian people. During the Mughal period, the king, the nobles and the commoners all took great delight in playing this game.[232] *Pachisi* was another ancient Hindi game frequently enjoyed by Akbar. The boards of this game were marked out on a marble square in a quadrangle, in the Agra Fort and Fatehpur Sikri. Akbar is said to have

224 Bernier, pp. 252-53.
225 Ovington, p. 142.
226 *Ibid.*
227 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 98; Mandelslo, p. 27; Ovington, p. 142.
228 Fryer, *Travels in India*, pp. 276-77.
229 *Ibid.*, p. 280.
230 Della Valle, p. 20.
231 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 29.
232 J. Ovington, *A voyage*, p. 159.

played the game of living chess (*pachisi*) with slave girls as pieces moving on the chequered pavement of the *pachisi* court at Fatehpur Sikri.

The game of playing cards has been popular in India from the ancient times. It is evident form Humayun-Namah of Gulbadan-Begum that Emperor Humayun indulged in a game of cards at Kabul with his step-mother and sisters. Thomas Roe once saw Shahjahan playing cards earnestly. The game was equally popular with the common people.

The antiquity of *chauper* is undisputed. It continued to be in vogue in India throughout the Mughal period.[233] This ancient game was enjoyed both by men and women. In the 17th century, *chaupar* became the favorite game of the court. *Zeb-un-Nisa*, the eldest daughter of Aurangzeb, spent most of her spare time in playing *chauper* with her girlfriends.

Some of the ladies were also interested in lying out gardens. Babur's daughter Zuhara, built a garden named *Zuha-ra-Bagh* in Agra. Bika Begum, the grandmother of Akbar, and Mariam Makhani, the grandmother of Jahangir, were interested in it. Jahangir's mother, Maryam-uz-Zamani, made a garden in the pargana of Jasut. Jahan-ara Begum owned many gardens. One of them was situated in Surat.[234] Moti-ka-bagh built by Noor-Mahal in Agra.[235] Raushanara Begum also built a garden near the city of Delhi which was known after her name. One of Aurangzeb's wives, Bibi Akbarabadi, built a garden imitation of Kashmir and Lahore Shalimar gardens.

Horse-riding[236] was a common sight, a means of transport, a recreation for the rich who sometimes also enjoyed elephant riding, a common and favourite pastime of the Mughal Kings. Princesses also used to enjoy horse riding. It also appears that some of the ladies were keen of hunting expeditions (*Shikars*) and accompanied the emperor on the same. Noor-Jahan Begum seems to be the only lady who was a skilled shot and actively participated in hunting. In the year 1617 A.D. when Jahangir went for hunting accompanied with the ladies, four tigers were marked by the hunts men. Noor-Jahan, with the permission of Jahangir, killed all of them.

233 Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 312.
234 Thevenot, *Indian Travels*, p. 35.
235 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 214.
236 Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 311.

Educated men and women, of whom there were many, would sometimes relax themselves by reading light literature, short stories, novels, poetry, etc. It was usual to listen to stories of adventures, heroes and lovers before going to bed at night. Short stories were related to children by their mothers to allure them to sleep early.

Music has always played an important art in the life of the people of any period of History. It is worthwhile to mention that women singers played most important part in the society of the Mughals. They greatly influenced the morality of the courtiers and the aristocracy. The women singers sang at feasts and marriage festivals. There were many groups of them known by different names. The most favoured class, which had an access to the court, was called *Kanchanis*[237], the name given by Akbar to a class of singing women who were formerly known as *Kanjaris*. They belonged to the private and respectable class of public women and supple limbs and dances with perfection. They were beautiful and attractive. This class, remarks Manucci, was more esteemed than others by reason of their great beauty.

It is evident that some ladies of the royal family also took keen interest in music and were themselves good singers. Ratnavali, the wife of Puran Mal, sang Hindi melodies sweetly. Man Singh's queen, Mrignayani was expert in music. It is said that Nurjahan Begum and Zebunnisa Begum also sang well and the former even composed songs. Mirabai was a good singer. In Mughal age, proficiency in music was regarded as a pride to the family and music was the most popular and artistic entertainment of time. *Kirtans* were sung by the devotees in praise of God. It is also observed by Ralph Fitch that, young women of the countryside with pitchers on their heads would go to well in the village early in the morning to fetch water. All the way to the well and back, they would sing in chorus, sometimes in batches of 23 or 30.[238]

Dancing served as a pastime for the rich. It was usual to call for dancing girls on festive occasions. They would play, sing and dance and entertain the guests.[239] The rope dancers called *nats* entertained the audience with their wonderful acrobatic feats.[240] Manuci gives us a list of dancing women; they attend the queens, the princesses, and the concubines. Each one has her special rank according to her

237 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p. 189.
238 Ralph Fitch, *Early Travels*, p. 19.
239 Mandelslo, *Travels*, p. 54.
240 *Ibid.*, p. 39.

standing.[241] Female dancers and public women were available in big cities at reasonable rates.[242] Aurangzeb did away with this luxury. He ordered public women and dancing girls either to marry or to "clear out of his realm".[243]

Jashans were celebrated with great pomp and show, befitting such and occasion. On such festive occasion, vocal as well as instrumental music was played, and dainty wines, dry fruits and rich dishes were served to the participants, who busily engaged themselves in some indoor games like chess, *chaupar,* playing cards etc. After the dancing and music, wine was served by beautiful maidens as the climax of the entertainment.

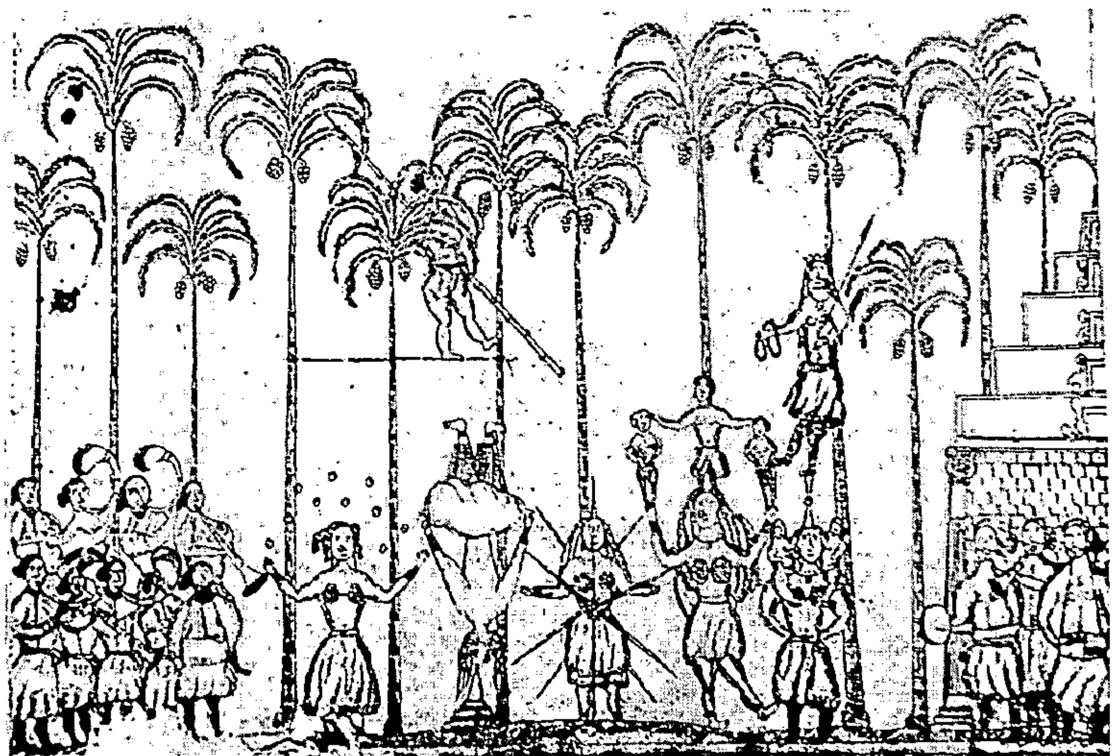


Plate III: Dancing Girls at the great Pagod (Image source: A Geographical Account of countries round the Bay of Bengal 1669-1679, p. 14)

Hunting was also another means of amusement and recreation for both the common people and particularly the royalty. Ovington mentions a variety of animals and beasts which were hunted daily by the people.[244] They were also skilled archers

241 Manucci, *Storia,* Vol. II, p. 313.
242 *Ibid.*, p. 6.
243 *Ibid.*
244 Ovington, p. 160.

and would even kill flying birds.[245] Among the emperors, Shahjahan and Auranzeb were fond of hunting expeditions. Shahjahan's tiger hunting with the help of buffaloes and elephants has been described vividly by Manucci.[246] Bernier gives reference to Emperor Aurangzeb's keep interest of hunting Lions, Leopards, Antelopes, grey oxen and other wild animals, in the company of high nobles or even of the commoners.



Plate IV: Akbar Hunting Tigers near Narwar, 1561 (Image source *Akbarnama* VA, IS-2-1896, No. 117, pl. 17)

Wrestling[247] or *Kushti* was both a means of entertainment and a form of exercise carried out by most of the people, including the king. Manucci, refers to Shahjanah's fondness for this diversion and further mentions that he had a number of renowned wrestlers at his court who frequently contested in his presence.[248]

245 De Laet, p. 82.
246 Manucci, *Storia,* Vol. I, pp. 191-92.
247 *A'in,* Vol. III, pp. 481-82.
248 Manucci, *Storia,* Vol. I, p. 191.

Similar to wrestling, fights between animals were also arranged as a means of recreation and entertainment. Emperor Akbar was fond of elephant fights and is said to have engaged his royal elephants '*Fatuha*' and '*Lagna*' in a serious combat near the fort of Mankot.[249] He even had a hundred and one elephants.[250] He was also interested in deer[251] and camel fights. The common man, who naturally could not afford the beast of animals, usually engaged themselves in buck-fights[252] and *bulbul*-fights.[253]



Plate V: Akbar watching Elephant Fight (Image source: Folio from *Padshahnama*)

249 *A.N.*, Vol. II, p. 91.
250 *A'in.*, Vol. I, p. 137.
251 *Ibid.*, pp. 228-31.
252 Pelsaert, p. 51.
253 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 128.

Festivals and Celebrations during the Mughal Period

European travelogues has given a picturesque description of the festivals during the Mughal period. Any festival, whether Hindu or Muslim, they were eyewitness of the same and give first-hand information about it. The festivals of Hindus were, indeed, numerous, occurring in almost all period of year. Most of the Hindu festivals were based on mythological, historical and astronomical considerations, while others, like *Vasant Panchami*, *Holi*, etc. were observed to mark the change of seasons. *Ramnavmi* and *Janmashtami* were observed to commemorate the birth anniversaries of Lord Rama and Lord Krishna respectively.

Muslim festivals, on the other hand, were few in number, but celebrated with equal enthusiasm. In fact, they were the anniversaries of some of the most important events in the early history of Islam. The Mughal emperors adopted some of the Hindu festivals and gave them a place in court ceremonies in order to bring the two communities nearer and maintain harmony. They took keen interest in feasts and festivals of the people. Humayun adopted the *tula-dan*. Akbar went ahead and associated *Holi, Dushera, Diwali* and *Vasant panchmi* with court celebrations. Jahangir and to some extent Shahjahan continued this tradition. Aurangzeb banned most of the Hindu and Persian festivals being celebrated in the court.

King's birthday

The birthday of the kings was also celebrated as one of the festival of great rejoicing at the court. Presents were offered and gifts were exchanged. Thevenot writes that special dances were arranged at the court.[254] For performance of this ceremony, royal palaces were decorated as on the occasion of the *Nauroz*. Feasts were given and all ranks of society indulged in gambling throughout this week. According to De Laet, the king was accompanied by all his high nobles and each noble presented him with rich gifts.[255] Hawkins mentioned that each noble presented a jewel.[256] The elephants and the horses bedecked in rich trappings and glittering robes were brought before His Majesty for review.[257]

254 Thevenot, p. 47.
255 De Laet, pp. 101-02; Mandelslo, p. 42.
256 Hawkins, *Early Travels*, p. 119.
257 Thevenot, p. 47.

On this day the emperor was weighed with gold, silver and jewels.[258] The ceremony was performed most solemnly with prayers, and was intended to afford an opportunity of dispensing charity to the poor.[259] Akbar introduced the custom of observing both his solar and lunar birthdays.[260] Jahangir continued this practiced and Shahjahan also adopted this practice with slight modifications. Aurangzeb, however, reverted to the old custom of having himself weighed. But he allowed it in the case of his sons on their recovery from illness on the specific condition that money and articles should be distributed among the poor.[261]

William Hawkins described the birthday celebration of Jahangir. He says, "All the nobles followed the Emperor and greeted her with jewels and other things. As he returned to his residence from his mother's palace, a banquet was held. After it, the Emperor went into a room where a golden balance of "beaten gold" was hung. In one scale sat the emperor and in the other "diverse things", silver, gold and different kind of grains were placed. The next day all was given to the poor. Hawkins estimated the value "to be ten thousand pounds".[262]

The articles against which the king and the princes were weighed were distributed among the Brahamans, *fakirs,* and other deserving persons.[263] Although, some European travellers[264] considered the act of charity by the king as false, but the veracity of the contemporary records cannot be challenged. After the ceremony they ascended the throne in the later part of the day and received presents (from his nobles) which, according to Thevenot, were valued at millions of rupees.[265] The king then distributed among his courtiers newly coined rupees and fruits such as almonds, nuts and spices made of gold and silver.[266] The wives of the nobles as well as chief ladies of the court also attended the palace on this day and offered gifts to the queens and princesses who in turn bestowed upon them costly *saropas* and jewels.[267]

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258 Hawkins, *Early Travels*, p. 119; Roe, *The Embassy*, pp. 378-80; De Laet, pp. 101-02; Mandelslo, p. 42; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 122; Manucci, *Storia,* Vol. II, p. 348; *A'in.*, Vol. I, pp. 243.

259 Roe, *The Embassy*, pp. 379.

260 *A'in.*, Vol. I, pp. 266-67.

261 Jadu Nath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, 5 Vols., Calcutta, 1912-25, Vol. III, pp. 85-86.

262 Hawkins, *Early Travels*, p. 119.

263 De Laet, pp. 101-02.

264 Mandelslo, p.42; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 379.

265 Thevenot, p. 47; Hawkins, *Early Travels*, p. 119; Manucci, *Storia,* Vol. II, p. 348.

266 Mandelslo, p.42; De Laet, pp. 101-02; Thevenot, p. 47.

267 Manucci, *Storia,* Vol. II, p. 356.

Humayun introduced another festival to be held on the anniversary of the coronation of the emperor. It was observed with great public jubilation for a week.[268] Soldiers and officers also took part in the celebration.[269] The *bazars* and chief public places were decorated. Fireworks were displayed and gaudy shows held throughout the length and breadth of the empire.[270]

Fairs

Humayan was the first among the Mughal emperors to introduce what later came to be known as *Mina Bazar*. This fair was the first of its kind and was held on boats near the emperor's palace after the mandate feast. Akbar, who continued the practice in a modified form, referred to such days as *khushroz* or joyful days.[271] Shahjahan's popular amusement was "a species of fair which was held for eight successive days in the gallery of the harem".[272]

No fixed interval seems to have been observed for holding such a *bazar*. According to Abul Fazl it was held once a month.[273] Shahjahan used to arrange such a *bazar* on the occasion of every festival.[274] It invariably followed the Nauroz celebrations.[275]

The stalls in the specially constructed *bazar* were distributed among nobles to be arranged by their wives or daughters who acted as traders.[276] These ladies usually were "the handsomest and most engaging wives of the *umra*".[277] Rajput ladies also attended the show.[278] The shops were usually of goldsmiths, grocers, cloth merchants, etc.[279] The articles exhibited were costly ornaments, silk and other fabrics.[280] Immensely pleased, the king would not hesitate to pay double the price asked for. After the women's *bazar*, a *bazar* for men was held and merchants brought their merchandise from all parts of the world.[281]

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268 Ovington, pp. 178-79.
269 Fryer, *Travels in India*, pp. 305-06.
270 Ovington, pp. 19-20.
271 *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 277. Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 238; Bernier, p. 273.
272 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p.195.
273 *Ain*, vol. I p. 277.
274 Bernier, p. 273.
275 *Ibid*, p. 272.
276 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 238.
277 Bernier. p. 273.
278 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 238.
279 Bernier, pp. 272-73.
280 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 238.
281 *A'in*, Vol. I, p. 277.

Id-i-Milad

Id-i-Milad, or the feast of Prophet's nativity, was celebrated on the 11th of *Rabi-ul-Awwal* with great solemnity at the court. Special lectures were delivered narrating the chief incidents in the Prophet's life. A meeting of the Sayyids, scholars and saints was arranged in the palace at Agra. That day Shahjahan leaving the throne took his seat on carpet. Reciters read the Quran. Rose water distributed among the people. On one occasion twelve thousand rupees were given in charity by Shahjahan.[282]

Nauroz **(Festival of nine days)**

Father Monserrate calls it "a nine day festival".[283] All the nobles attended the court in "great pomp", presented gifts of the king and got much in return. Terry describes the event in delight as, "I being in his presence beheld most immense and incredible riches, to my amazement in gold, pearls and precious stones jewels and many other glittering vanities".[284] The feast was celebrated even in camp.[285] At this particular occasion a group of *jogi's* delighted the king with their dances women were allowed to visit the palace and see its magnificent appointments.[286]

Ramadan (Ramzan)

It is a Muslim festival in which the people fast for a whole month. This fast was kept very "strictly" throughout the lunar month. The Muslims eat and drink nothing during the day time. They only eat when "the stars became visible". Pelseart mentions that, "they slept apart from their wives for the whole month. Neither did they drink wine".[287]

Id-ul-fitr

At the end of Ramadan month occurred *Id*. On that day, in the morning, Muslims went to the *Idgah*, which was situated outside the city. There the *Qazi* led their prayer. People from every walk of life gathered there "in great joy, the great men

282 P.N. Chopra, *Some Aspects of Society and Culture during the Mughal Age, 1526-1707*, Agra, 1955, p. 96.
283 Monserrate, *Commentary*, p. 176; *Mir'at*, Vol. I, p. 145.
284 Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 375.
285 *Ibid.*, p. 376.
286 Monserrate, *Commentary*, p. 176.
287 Pelsaert, p. 73.

in full state, the poor in clean white clothes". Food was sent to friends as a token of good wishes. On this particular day, every one appeared "very gay".[288]

Id-ul-Zuha

Id-ul-Zuha or *Bakr-Id*[289] came seventy days after the Ramadan. It commemorated the mercy of God shown towards Abraham, who had decided to offer his son Isaac as a sacrifice to God. On that day everybody, whose means allowed, sacrificed a goat in his house. Marriages never took place during this period of seventy days.[290]

Muharram

Muharram[291] is the name given to the Muslim month of mourning. They display their mourning in the chief streets of the city, where they made coffins which they adorned as richly as they could. They carried it in the evenings with many lights and large crowds. At the same time they cried and mourned. The chief celebration was held on the last night. The outcry lasted till the first quarter of the next day, when they carried the coffins to the river. The mourning lasted till they threw the coffins into the river.

They took bath, returned home finely dressed and went to the graves of their parents or friends. They whitewashed and decorated their house for the occasion. They brought thither flowers and gave food to the poor. Pelsaert compared the tenth day of Muharram with the All Soul's Day of the Catholics or the Pap sit.[292] "They believe that all good deeds and charities performed on that day on behalf of the dead will benefit them whether they are in heaven or hell".[293]

Shab-i-Barat

The night of the prophet's ascent to heaven is celebrated on the 14th of *Shabban*, the 8th Arabic month. The general belief is that on this night, the lives and fortunes of the mortals for the coming year are registered in heaven. Muslims prepared stew, curds, sweetmeats, etc., in the name of their deceased relations on 13th

288 Pelsaert, p. 73.
289 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 196; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, pp. 349-50; *A.N.*, Vol. II, p. 31.
290 Pelsaert, p. 73.
291 *Ibid.*, p. 75; Mandelslo, p. 42.
292 Pelsaert, pp. 74-75
293 *Ibid.*

Shabban either during the day or in the evening and offer *fatiha* over some portion of these dishes. Sweets and presents were exchanged.[294]

The Muslims, during the Mughal period, illuminated their houses and shops and displayed fireworks.[295] Jagangir and Shahjahan[296] were very particular about this festival and observed it regularly with great pomp and show. The palaces, government buildings, gardens, reservoirs, etc., were all illuminated. Temporary wooden structures, such as walls and domes, were raised and set with beautiful lamps.[297]

Holi

Holi is one of the ancient festivals of the Hindus.[298] It was amongst the most popular days of rejoicing, music and feasts, as it is today. Colour throwing was a lively part of the celebrations. European travellers[299] who visited our country during the Mughal age describe the celebration of this festival at the great length. Their description shows that it was observed in much the same manner as it is in the 21th century.

Diwali

Diwali or *Dipawali*, meaning a row of lamps, is observed on the 15th day of the first half of the Hindu month of *Kartika* (October-November).[300] It is preceded by annual white-washing and cleaning of the houses, so essential on sanitary grounds.[301] On the Diwali day, *Lakshmi*, the goddess of wealth and prosperity, is worshipped after which illuminations take place. Sometimes fire-works were discharged and sweets and other presents were exchanged.[302]

Gambling was considered auspicious on this occasion.[303] People kept awake the whole night trying another's luck at dice. Akbar was interested in the festive aspects of the celebrations, while Jahangir preferred gambling and sometimes ordered

294 Thevenot, p.31.
295 Mandelslo, p. 46; Thevenot, p.31.
296 Lahori, *Padshahnama*, Vol. II, pp. 167-68.
297 *Ibid.*
298 *Ain*, Vol. III, p. 321; Ain, II, p. 173.
299 Monserrate, *Commentary*, p. 22; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, 219; English Factories (1624-29), p. 246: (1634-36), p. 136; (1637-44), p. 13; Mandelslo, p. 58; Manucci, Storia, Vol. II, p. 154; Thevenot, p. XXXI; Hamilton, Vol. I, pp. 128-29.
300 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 146; *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 216; *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 305-07.
301 P.N. Chopra, *Some Aspects*, p. 93.
302 Fryer, *Travels in India*, p. 309.
303 *A'in.*, Vol. I, p. 321.

his attendants to play the games in his presence for two or three nights. *Govardhan* puja followed Diwali. It was observed as cows' day when cattle were washed, ornamented and fed and worshipped. Akbar also took part in the celebrations and several adorned cows brought before him.[304]

Rakshabandhan

Rakshabandhan, one of the greatest festivals of the *Brahmans* is observed on the full moon day of *Shravana* (July-August). A silk cord was tied round the right wrist by one's sister. It was supposed to ward off the evil eye. *Purohits*, or the royal priests, fastened the Rakhi on the right wrists of their patrons.[305]

Dushera

Dushera was considered to be of great significance for the *Kshatriyas*.[306] It was observed on the 10th lunar day of *Asoj* (September-October) in commemoration of Lord Rama's Victory over Ravana. It was observed then, as now, all over the country and theatrical shows were held to commemorate the war between Rama and Ravana. It was considered an auspicious day to undertake a military expedition.[307] It was the usual custom to offer presents on this festival and the king would bestow the royal favour on the deserving.

Other Hindu festivals

Other important Hindu festivals were, as they are now, *Ramanavmi* and *Janmashtami*. The former is the anniversary of the day of birth of Lord Rama, which falls on the 19th lunar day in the bright fortnight of the month of *Chaitra* (March-April).[308] The latter is the anniversary of the birthday of Lord Krishna, which is celebrated on the 8th of the dark fortnight of the month of August to September.[309]

Position of Women in Society

Women occupy a critical place in every stratum and society. They are the homemakers and the basic source of growth and development of the new generations.

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304 *A'in.*, Vol. I, p. 216.
305 P.N. Chopra, *Some Aspects of Society*, p. 91.
306 *A'in.* Vol. III, p. 319.
307 For the Rajput celebration of the festival see Ain. Vol. III, pp. 317-21.
308 *A'in.* Vol. III, p. 350.
309 *Ibid.*, p. 352.

The European travellers have described women in through detail with respect to their socio cultural aspect and their position and status in the society.

The arrival of the Mughals had its significant influence on the existing society. It is true that the ruling Hindu population was familiar with the idea of polygamy; however this practice received more encouragement from the Mughals. Strict veiling of women was a common practice among the Muhammadans.[310] Hindu and Muslim ladies alike observed the *purdah*, but the Hindus were not as strict as the Muslims. *Purdah* was strictly observed among the high class families of both the communities during the Mughal period.[311] Ladies of the high families considered it inappropriate to go out without aristocratic veils.[312] "For these (Muslim ladies) unless they be dishonest or poor never come aboard".[313] They thought it derogatory to stir out except on special occasions and even then in closely covered palanquins surrounded on all sides by servants and eunuchs.[314] The Princesses would go out very rarely and that too with prior permission of the king. They usually went out in the morning in palanquins accompanied by slaves. If for any reason a Muslim lady of rank discarded *purdah* even for a temporary period, the consequences for her were disastrous. *Purdah* was gradually spreading in Rajputana, but it was less vigorously observed in Rajput families, where the ladies, trained in all the arts of warfare, would frequently take part in hunting parties and other expeditions. Barring notable Muslim families there, South Indians did not adopt *purdah*. In Malabar, wives welcomed guests and talked familiarly with them.[315]

Purdah was no less strictly observed among the middle class Muslim ladies who dared not move out of doors without a viel,[316] which consisted of a *burqa* or a *chadar* and hid her from top to toe. Hamilton writes: "The Muhammadan women always go veiled when they appear abroad".[317] Muhammadans, according to Mandelslo[318] and Fryer[319], were very jealous of their wives. Even the meanest among them would not allow his wife to stir out uncovered. Those among them, who could

310 Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 309.
311 Mandelslo, *Travels*, p. 78.
312 *Ibid*.
313 Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 309; De Laet, *The Empire*, p. 81; Careri, *Indian Travels*, p. 248.
314 Mandelslo, *Travels*, p. 78; Fryer, *Travels in India*, p. 181; Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 312.
315 J. Ovington, *A voyage*, p. 128.
316 *Travels in India in the 17th century*, p. 34; Hamilton, Vol. I, p. 163; De Laet, *The Empire*, p. 81.
317 Hamilton, Vol. I, p. 163.
318 Mandelslo, *Travels*, p. 80.
319 Fryer, *Travels in India in the 17th century*, p. 181.

afford it, went out in palanquins and coaches covered on all sides.[320] The Muhammadans would not allow their wives to talk even to their relatives, except in their presence.[321]

There was no forced custom of *purdah* amongst the Hindu middle class and certainly not among the Hindu masses. Hindu ladies could move out of doors with little or no restrictions.[322] Both the sexes had sufficient liberty to go out and enjoy the open air.[323] Unlike Muslim women, Hindu women did not cover themselves from head to foot[324], but they adopted *purdah* up to some extent as a protective measure to save their honour at the hand of foreign invaders.

Women of the lower stratum of our society, such as, peasant and working classes, were entirely free from the bondage of the *purdah*.[325] They were expected to help their husbands in all external pursuits and internal economy. They visited shrines travelling on foot without any restriction whatsoever. It was everywhere a common sight to see women water-carriers walking along the streets without any *purdah*.[326] Fetching water was another customary chore of the Indian women.

The upper classes, according to their status, maintained a large female establishment. They had large number of wives, mistresses and concubines who on their part own large establishments and drew large allowances from their husbands. Wives of the nobles lived in houses surrounded by high walls with tanks, gardens and other luxuries inside. Each wife has separate apartments for herself and her slaves, of whom there may be 10, or 20, or 100 according to her fortune. Each has a regular monthly allowance. Jewels and clothes are provided by the husband according to the extent of his affection.[327] Their food comes from the kitchen, but each wife takes it in her own apartments; for they hate each other secretly, though they seldom or never allow it to be obvious, to retain the favour of their husband, whom they fear, honour, and worship, as a god rather than a man.[328] Polygamy was the privilege of the rich

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320 Della Valle, *travels*, Vol. I, p. 44; De Laet, *The Empire*, p. 82; Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 311.

321 Mandelslo, *Travels*, p. 80; Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 320.

322 *Travels in India in the 17th century*, p. 182; De Laet, *The Empire*, p. 81; Della Valle, Vol. I, p. 46.

323 Fryer, *Travels in India*, p. 181.

324 Ralph Fitch, *Early Travels*, p. 19.

325 Della Valle, *travels*, Vol. I, p. 46.

326 Ralph Fitch, *Early Travels*, p. 19.

327 De Laet, *The Empire*, p. 91.

328 Pelseart, *Jahangir's India*, pp. 64-65; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 319, He says, "They live in this way...making themselves attractive, getting talked about in the world and pleasing the king. For, inspite of there being among them many jealousies, they conceal this as a matter of policy.

Muhammadans, each of whom kept three or four wives at a time[329] and sometimes even exceeded the prescribed limit of four fixed by the prophet.[330] The co-wives rivaled each other and used all devices to excel one another and thereby win the love of their husband. Polygamy naturally brought many evils in its train.[331] A single husband could hardly be expected to satisfy his several wives who wore the expensive clothes, ate the daintiest food and enjoyed all worldly pleasures.[332] Domestic harmony and peace could not be expected in a polygamous household, the poor husband being the centre of intrigue and torment.[333]

A study of the polygamy naturally leads us to that of 'Harem', maintained by the Mughal emperors and the aristocracy. The Imperial Harem, with a large enclosure consisted of beautiful buildings where the emperor, the ladies of the royal family, as well as those of selected nobles of high ranks resided. According to Manucci, Harem included over two thousand ladies of different races and nationalities.[334] The pleasure of the Harem life was not the monopoly of the sovereigns only. On the other hand, almost all the Nobles, including even the Hindus, had their own Harems generally designed on the royal pattern. De Laet[335] refers to these Harems of the Nobles. Manucci holds that the emperors maintained strict supervision over the inmates of their Harems.[336]

Hindus on the other hand strictly restricted to monogamy as enjoined by their social custom,[337] who would take to a second wife only if the first wife is sick or proves barren or if the children die.[338] Della Valle writes: "Hindus take but one wife and never divorce her till death, except of the cause of adultery".[339] Hamilton[340] corroborates the same.

329 Pelseart, *Jahangir's India*, p. 64; Careri, *Indian Travels*, p. 248.; Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 320.; De Laet, *The Empire*, p. 90
330 *Ibid.*
331 Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 320.
332 Pelseart, *Jahangir's India*, p. 66.
333 J. Ovington, *A voyage*, p. 191.
334 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 308.
335 De Laet, *The Empire*, pp. 90-91
336 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, pp. 328-29; Ralph Fitch, *Early Travels*, p. 18.
337 Hamilton, Vol. I, P. 157.
338 De Laet, *The Empire*, pp. 86, 88; Della Valle, Vol. I, pp. 82-83.
339 Della Valle, Vol. I, pp. 82-83.
340 Hamilton, Vol. I, p. 157.

European travellers write about the early marriages of young girls. Manucci[341] writes: "They married their girls even before they were able to speak".[342] Ralph Fitch while referring to the practice of early marriage among the *Brahmans* of Bengal, writes: "Their daughters be married at or before the age of 10 years".[343] According to Thevenot, at the age of 4, 5 or 6 years while Travernier puts the marriage age at 6 to 8. There was no fixed limit for the age of marriage. Both Hindu and Muslims favoured an early age for boys and girls.[344] The custom in those days did not allow, for whatever reasons, girls to remain in their parents' home for more than 6-8 years after their birth. Pelsaert[345], speaking about the early marriages prevalent among the Hindus observes thus: "the Hindus, join their children in marriage at the age of only four or five years". In Gujrat, Nicholas Withington[346] (1612-16) mentions that "*banias* marry their children at very young age, about three years or under, sometimes marriages were fixed before the birth of child".

In Mughal Gujarat as elsewhere in India, women had no choice in their marriages. Marriages were settled by parents or nearest relatives.[347] Manucci writes that, seldom a wish was expressed by any female relation of the bridegroom to see the bride before the marriage.[348] Marriages were celebrated with great pomp entailing a lavish expenditure on banquets, music, fireworks and presents.[349] Large dowries were customary. Azam Khan gave to his daughter, "20 Elephants, 1,000 horses and 6,000 wagons laden with the rarest stuffs in the provinces".[350] The marriage of a girl sometimes became a difficult problem because of the custom of dowry. Dowry was demanded, and sometimes parents disregarded the suitability of the match and cared primarily for a rich dowry. Bernier rightly remarks that many girls would have led a happy married life if their parents had connected them with a family less noble than

341 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. III, p. 51.
342 J. Ovington, *A voyage*, p. 189, He mentions about the *banians* of Surat that they join their children in marriage in their very infancy at the age of 3 or 4 years.
343 Ralph Fitch, *Early Travels*, p. 16; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. III, pp. 56-57.
344 Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 321. According to Terry, "They marry for the most part at the ages of twelve or thirteen..."
345 Pelseart, *Jahangir's India*, p. 84
346 Withington, *Early Travels*, p. 221. "If two neighbours wives bee with childe, they make a bargayne that if one bringe forthe a sonne and the other a daughter, they shall marrye together."
347 Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 321. He mentions that, "Among Muslims, mothers were most commonly making the matches"; Pelseart, *Jahangir's India*, p. 81; Fryer, *Travels in India*, p. 181.
348 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. III, p. 52
349 Careri, *Indian Travels*, p. 248; see also: Thevenot, *Indian Travels*, pp. 31, 33; Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 320; Hamilton, p. 157.
350 Mandelslo, *Travels*, p. 32

their own.[351] It is, no doubt, a fact that most of the Hindus managed to lead a happy domestic life. The true love and affection of the husband for his wife was unfailing. It appears from the account of Manucci that in some caste and localities the bridegroom had to pay money to the bride's guardians.[352] The marriages were usually made in same caste and religion, even in same profession or trade.[353] Nicholas Withington (1612-13) mentions that, "Son of a Baker married to a Baker's daughter".[354]

It seems that divorce and remarriages, common among Muslims, were prohibited to Hindu women. The Hindu husband could re-marry[355] in certain circumstances, as on the death of his wife or if she proves to be barren[356] but a Hindu women had no such privilege. Even when the husband died, the woman had no choice even if she desired to remarry.[357] "Nor could she find any of her own race who would take her, because she would be accounted as bad, as infamous in desiring a second marriage".[358] The custom suffered a little change during the Mughal days and was even more rigourously enforced.

Hindu ladies according to Ovington, disliked and abhorred the very idea of re-marrying and preferred to maintain their fidelity even after the death of their husbands.[359] Seldom did a women desire to outlive her husband unless she was big with a child. *Sati* was a prevalent practice, inspite of the efforts of the Mughals to check it.[360] Linked as they used to be from their infancy, separation was intolerable.[361] The death of husband was certainly the greatest tragedy, the saddest calamity in the life of a Hindu woman. Thevenot[362] mentions that the widow re-marriage was not possible among the Hindus, excepting a certain lower castes. Careri gives a list of certain lower castes among the Hindus like milkmen, the gardeners, the washer-men, the fisher-men etc., which allowed their widows to remarry themselves.[363]

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351 Bernier, *Travels*, p. 259.
352 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. III, pp. 52-53; Pelseart, p. 82.
353 Terry, *Early Travels*, ed. William Foster, p. 322; Ovington, *A voyage*, p. 165; Bernier, *Travels*, p. 259; Pelseart, p. 81.
354 Nicholas Withington, *Early Travels*, p. 221.
355 Della Valle, Vol. I, pp. 82-83; Pelseart, *Jahangir's India*, p. 84.
356 Della Valle, Vol. I, p. 83; De Laet, p. 88; Careri, *Indian Travels*, p. 248.
357 Ovington, *A voyage*, p. 191; Pelseart, p. 84
358 Della Valle, Vol. I, pp. 82-83.
359 Ovington, *A voyage*, p. 191.
360 Della Valle, *travels*, Vol. I, p. 85; Bernier, p. 306.
361 Ovington, *A voyage*, p. 191.
362 Thevenot, *Indian Travels*, p. 119; Ovington, *A voyage*, p. 191.
363 Careri, *Indian Travels*, pp. 256-57; De Laet, *The Empire*, p. 87.

A popular belief had gained in the minds of the people that highest virtue for a woman was to become a *Sati*, and therefore, if a widow expressed her unwillingness for it, the people began to doubt her fidelity and affection towards her departed husband.[364] Far from being well disposed towards them, society treated very unfairly those widows who would not burn themselves with their dead husbands. Society looked down upon them.[365] They were not allowed to wear their hair long or to put on ornaments.[366] Widowhood was considered a punishment for the sins of one's previous life.[367] The account of the contemporary European travellers invariably refer to it, with all its rituals, and some of them even speak about elements of compulsion attached to it which was normally exercised by the Brahman priests.[368] Bernier has narrated the pathetic case of a child widow of 12 years being burnt against her will at Lahore.[369] Manucci tells us that Kshatriya women were even burnt against their wishes[370]; he himself rescued one such woman, who was eventually married to a European friend of his.

Edward Terry[371] tells us that women sometimes burnt themselves voluntarily. Thevenot writes, "The glory of widowhood consists in being burnt with their dead husbands. The madness of women being burnt with their husband is so horrid, that I desired to be excused that I write no more of it". Bernier says that this abnormal practice was a result of deeply-rooted prejudice. He adds that widows were sometimes forced to burn themselves.[372] Manucci also writes about the burning of the widows. "In Assam, at the death of the master of the house, they burnt with him all his wives, concubines, and servants, setting them all on fire after binding their feet".[373] Manucci also says that Mughal emperors had imposed prohibition on *Sati* in order to remove it

364 Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 310-11; Careri, *Indian Travels*, pp. 255-56. He says "widows do not marry again, and if they will burn themselves with their husband's body, they gain much reputation, such as will not are looked upon as cowardly, and infamous."

365 Thevenot, *Indian Travels*, p. 119; Bernier, p. 314; Careri, *Indian Travels*, p. 249.

366 Nicholas Withington, *Early Travels*, p. 219; Ovington, *A voyage*, p. 201; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. III, p. 61; Mandelslo, p. 44; Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 323. He mentions, "Their widown marrie not; but, after the losse of their husbands, cut their haire and spend all their lives as neglected creatures"; Ralph Fitch, *Early Travels*, p. 14; Careri, *Indian Travels*, p. 249.

367 Bernier, p. 310.

368 *Ibid*, p. 313; Careri, *Indian Travels*, pp. 249-50; Ralph Fitch, *Early Travels*, pp. 14, 17, 22.

369 Bernier, p. 314.

370 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. III, p. 63.

371 Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 323. He mentions, "many young women are ambitious to die with honor (as they esteeme it), when their fiery love brings them to the flames (as they thinke) of martyrdome most willingly; following their dead husbands unto the fire, and there imbracing are burnt with them; but this they doe voluntarily, not compelled."

372 Bernier, p. 313.

373 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 93.

from the society.[374] Where they could not completely eradicate this malpractice, the authorities took measures to keep a check on the practice of *sati*. A woman who wanted to burn herself with her departed husband had to take the permission of the governor or *kotwal*, and generally, the permission was not given and in no cause was any widow allowed to be burnt against her wishes.[375]

Several European travellers have appreciated the high character of the Hindu ladies. Thevenot presents it as an example to all the women of the East.[376] Travernier writes, "Adultery is very rare among the Hindu ladies and as sodomy I never heard it mentioned".[377] Death was the usual punishment for those who indulged in such vices. Sometimes the guilty was deprived of their noses.[378] When the chastity of a Hindu lady was in danger, she preferred to do *Jauhar* which was, according to Hindu custom, the fire of fame. In Mughal age we find that such was the ideal of Indians' womanhood.

Inspite of the *purdah* which obstructed the high class ladies from participating in the social life of the nation, quite a large number of talented women made a mark in different spheres during the two centuries of Mughal rule in India. The women of the richer classes were well educated and many of them were not only patrons of the learned, but themselves were poetesses of distinction and authoresses of scholarly works. Gulbadan Begum, the author of Humayunnama and Jahan-ara, the biographer of Shibyah and Munisal Arwah, hold an enviable position among the literary figures of that age. Jan-begum, the daughter of Khan-i-Khanan, is said to have written a commentary on the *Quran*. Mira-Bai, Salima Sultana, Noor-Jahan, Siti-un-Nisa, the tutoress of Jahan-Ara and renowned as "The princess of poets" and Zeb-un-Nisa, the eldest daughter of Aurangzeb were poetesses of distinction. Rama-Bhadramba, the author of Ragunatha Bhyudaya, Madhura Vani, translator in verse of the Andhra Ramayan and Tirumalamba, author of Varadambika-Parinaya are well known Sanskrit poetesses of the period. In Maharashtra, Aka-Bai and Kena-Bai, disciples of Ramdas Swami, were considered important literary figures in the 17th century.

374 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 97; Mandelslo, p. 43.
375 Bernier, p. 306; Mandelslo, p. 42; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 35; *A'in*, Vol. II, p. 45.
376 Thevenot, *Indian Travels*, Vol. III, Chap. XXIV, p. 47.
377 Travernier, Vol. II, p. 487.
378 Mandelslo, p. 95.

Education during the Mughal Period

Mughal period was significant from the point of view of progress of education in India. They promoted education and learning as a result of which the scholars and intellectuals were frequent visitors to the court of the emperors. The European travelogues provide a good deal of information about the development of education.

However, for the first half of the seventeenth century there is scarcity of data on the education system coming from the accounts of European travellers who visited mostly the Hindu kingdom of Vijaynagar in the south India. But lots of information is obtained in the travelogues on the education and learning for the Mughal Empire in the north India which is also backed by the contemporary sources.

Mughal Emperor Humayun was highly cultured, learned and a true patron of scholars.[379] He even built a *madarsah* at Delhi of which Shaikh Hussain was appointed as a teacher.[380] Besides, the scholars were patronized by him who prospered at his court and contributed greatly towards the education and literary activities in the court. Humayun also appreciated poetry very much.

Father Monserrate writes that the emperor (Akbar) gave liberal education to many noble boys and youths who had become orphans.[381] Akbar instructed numerous *madarasahs, maktabs* for both resident and day scholars. The most admirable and noteworthy of all was a big college built by Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri.

Jahangir's interest in promoting the course of education was so deep that soon after his accession to the throne, he repaired and constructed even those *madarsahs* and *maktabs* that had for thirty years, been the dwelling places of birds and beasts, and populated them with professors and students. Jahangir issued a regulation throughout the empire that the property of an heirless deceased was to be appropriated by the government and utilised for building and repairing *madrasahs* and monasteries etc.[382]

Even Shahjahan's interest in education and learning can be inferred by the information that Lahore, Ahmadabad, Burhanpur, Sirhind, Jaunpur, Ambala and Thaneswar became famous seats of learning and attracted students from distant

379 Badaoni, Vol. I, p. 602.
380 *A'in*, Vol. I, p. 538.
381 Monserrate, *Commentary*, p. 207.
382 *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, p. 8.

places.[383] He greatly promoted the scholars of arts and sciences and even encouraged the scholars from abroad granting them stipends and pensions.[384]

Aurangzeb also took keen interest that his subjects be educated and consequently for their benefit founded numberless *maktabs* and *madrasas* in his kingdom and also maintained all the institutions made by the previous emperors and private benefactors in favour of education. In 1678, he granted a large sum of money for the reconstruction of the old *maktabs* and *madrasas* in Gujarat. He helped students in proportion to their proficiency.[385] He even confiscated the building belonging to the Dutch in Lucknow, known as *Firangi* Mahal and had it converted into a *madrasah* and gave it even to the families of Muslim scholars.[386]

Education in Mughal period is can be divided into three categories: primary education, secondary education and higher education.

Primary or elementary education of Muslims was given in '*makhtabs*' or primary schools and the private houses that were found everywhere in country. The age of the beginners varied from four to five years, particularly the Mughal princes. Babur sent Humayun to *madrasah* at the age of four years four months and four days.[387] Humayun sent Akbar and Akbar sent Jahangir on the same age.[388] Manucci described that the education of the royal princes normally began when they attained the age of five years and then they were made over to learned men and courteous eunuchs who taught them reading, writing as well as liberal and literary arts.[389] Monserrate mentioned about the education of princesses as, "Great care and attention were bestowed on the education of princesses. They were kept 'rigorously secluded' from the sight of men".[390]

The ceremony of putting a child to a '*makhtab*' was commonly known as '*Bismillahkhani*' or *Makhtab* ceremony.[391] At the hour fixed, generally in consultation

383 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 424.
384 Hamilton, Vol. I, p. 166.
385 Bernier, p. 292.
386 *Ibid.*
387 *A.N.*, Vol. I, p. 201.
388 *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, p. 6.
389 Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, pp. 346-47.
390 Monserrate, *Commentary*, p. 203.
391 K. M. Ashraf, Life and Condition of the People of Hindustan, *J.A.S.B.*, 1935, Vol. I, Article No. 4, p. 249.

with an astrologer, the child began his first academic lesson from his teacher.[392] The Muslim nobles would not necessarily send their children to school, but usually employed tutors to teach them at home.[393] Whereas, Mandelslo observes, "Muslims took special interest to educate their sons as they reached the school joining age appears to be true only in case of the highly placed class of Muslim nobles. The common Mohammadan was reluctant to attend to his studies and preferred to be trained in the art of warfare and to be enlisted in the imperial army where he could hope for a bright future".[394]

Hindu education was imparted mainly through agencies like *tols*, *pathshalas* and private tutors. The teachers in these educational institutions were in most cases, *Brahmans*, and they had practically monopolised the teaching profession.[395]

The primary education to Hindu boys was given by the *pathshalas*. Generally, these *pathshalas* had their own buildings. In some cases when a suitable accommodation for the *pathshalas* could not be found in towns or villages, it would sit in some spacious buildings attached to a rich man's mansion or even under the shade of a tree.[396] In the absence of modern school equipment (paper), a student in the elementary school was first of all, required to practice the art of writing on the floor, covered with sand or dust.[397] A novice in such school was, first of all, required to acquire the knowledge of the alphabet. Then he was given some lessons in attaining proficiency in spelling, reading and writing followed by a working knowledge of practical arithmetic. After a general smattering of the above subjects, a student in such *pathshalas* was required to study grammar, which contained the declension, conjugation, syntax etc. When he had acquired a sound knowledge of Sanskrit and its grammar, the *purans* formed his next subject of study.[398] Mandelslo also writes, "*Brahmins* have also the over-sight of schools where they teach children to read and write".[399]

392 K. M. Ashraf, Life and Condition of the People of Hindustan, *J.A.S.B.*, 1935, Vol. I, Article No. 4, p. 249.

393 Bernier, p. 228.

394 Mandelslo, p. 62.

395 Bernier, pp. 234-35; Thomas Bowrey, *A Geographical Account of Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, 1669 to 1679, ed. R.C. Temple, Cambridge, 1905, pp. 205-06; *A'in*, Vol. III, p. 127; *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, p. 224.

396 Bernier, p. 334.

397 Fryer, *Travels in India*, p. 312.

398 *Ibid.*, p. 335.

399 Mandelslo, p. 13.

The secondary education was imparted in mosques and *khanqas* (Muslim monasteries) which included both secular as well as religious education. These mosques were numerous in numbers. *Khanqas* were started by religious persons who were held in high esteem. These institutions were the key places for the propagation of the educational activity throughout the country. Apparently, the medium of instruction in these schools was Persian.

Higher education of Muslims was imparted in the *madrasas* or colleges which were situated in towns and cities. The Muslim seats of learning were Agra, Lahore, Ahmadabad, Burhanpur, Jaunpur, Sirhind, Thaneswar and Ambala.[400] Further the cities and towns of Delhi, Gujarat, Kashmir, Fathehpur Sikri, Lucknow and Sialkot[401] were also important seats of Muslim education but were not mentioned in travelogues but in the contemporary sources. According to *Mir'at*, "A royal order was issued to all the *subas* of the empire to appoint teacher in every *subah* and that students from readers of Mizan to Kashashaf should be given stipends in consultation with the *Sad'r* of the *subah*, verified with seal of the teachers from the *subah's* treasury. Three teachers in Ahmadabad, Pattan and Surat and forty-five students in addition were appointed in the *subah* of Ahmadabad".[402]

Benaras and Nadia were the important seats of higher learning of Hindus. Bernier informs, "Benaras is a kind of university, but it has no college or regular classes as in our universities, but it resembles, rather the school of ancients, the masters being spread over different parts of the town in private houses".[403] Hindus preferred shrines and sacred places where pilgrim traffic supplied a subsidiary source of income to the famous teachers residing there. Thus free form the worries of making a livelihood, they pursued their studies undisturbed. Benaras,[404] Nadia, Mithila, Tirhut,[405] Paithan, Karhad, Thatta, Multan, Sirhind,[406] etc., were the famous seats of Hindu learning. Peter Mundy also mentions that there was a college for Jesuits at Agra.[407]

400 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 210; Hamilton, Vol. I, pp. 365-66; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 414.
401 *K.T.*, pp. 96-97.
402 *Mir'at*, Vol. I, p. 229.
403 Bernier, p. 341.
404 *Ibid.*, Hamilton, Vol. II, pp. 22-23.
405 *A'in*, Vol. II, pp. 152-53.
406 Monserrate, *Commentary*, p. 101.
407 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 208.

Education of women

The education of women has been given importance to during the Mughal period. However, this privilege was restricted to the princesses and upper class ladies. No regular separate schools seem to have existed for imparting education to girls, who had their early lessons usually from their parents. The society has acknowledged honour to the educated women as some of them rose to the high position of king's advisers and counsellors on the account of their merit. Durgavati,[408] Chand Bibi, Nur Jahan[409] and Jahanara played an important role during the Mughal period. Even Gulbadan Begum, Rupmati, Mira Bai, Zeb-un-Nisa *and* Zinat-un-nisa *distinguished* themselves in the literary sphere.

The European travellers were not from the same culture and society. Although they could not completely understand the custom and traditions of the people, they left behind the large amount of information about the social and cultural life of the society, especially the common people, which is very important to understand the all aspects of the society of the Mughal period.

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408 *A'in*, Vol. II, pp. 324-25.

409 Prasad Beni, *The History of Jahangir*, London, 1930, pp. 182-85.

Conclusion

After thorough examination of the period under review we find that the symbiotic relationship between the urban and the rural areas was one of the key factors in the overall urbanization of the Mughal India. These relations rested upon a free economy of exchange of trade and services between the city and the rural areas. For instance, the cities in general were dependent on external resources for obtaining the food grain or the raw material and in-turn; they exported the finished goods from the cities to the rural areas to compensate the trade. The towns and cities with a larger population acted as active centres of trade and commerce as there, the number of consumers was more. This attracted the rural population, who brought their products and goods for sale and took back the articles necessary. The recruitment and hiring of various professionals like the servants, soldiers, artisans and skilled craftsmen etc. was mostly done through the villages. Thus, those who moved from the villages and small towns to the city, acted as a source of income for their respective families and villages which helped them in living an upgraded life. The rural population was also attracted to the city for recreational purpose and were regular audience of functions and fares, especially those where they could blend pleasure with profit. Thus, the small rural towns were in constant touch with the larger and comparatively developed cities by means of trade or socio cultural activities which was mutually beneficial for them. The villages and small towns due to regular trade were able to contribute to their economies and the cities were benefitted by easy availability of the goods and materials of consumption. In addition to these, the state celebrations, presence of the king on public occasions, important religious ceremonies and religious festivals, were some of the important occasions when the rural population was attracted to the cities.

The urbanization during the Mughal period was primarily triggered due to the development of significant domestic industries and commercial centres. This was further complemented by a strong centralized government. As the trade relations developed with other regions, the towns evolved and their importance increased. Expansion of cultivation led to surplus of the agro produce and raw material which promoted such towns as significant centres of commerce and trade. Further, the movement of the rural population to urban centres increased the population of such cities, which ultimately resulted in the concentration of power and wealth at these places. Subsequently, many of these cities stood out and evolved as centres of administration, extensive commercial activity and even as the capital of the empire.

The abundance of materials for production and manufacture, not only made the country self-sufficient, but also had the surplus, which was enough to establish prominent trade relations both nationally and internationally. Relative scrutiny of coeval industrial aspects in India and Europe reveals that in this respect India was growing at a faster rate than most of the European countries. Another critical factor in the evolution of the urban society and establishing the architecture of its economy was the impact of the different European nations which had established trade with India. The East India Company was set up here, with a vision of unparalleled commercial enterprise along with the Dutch and the Portuguese merchants during the seventeenth century. Trade by sea, as well as by land increased in volume. The port towns and the maritime regions flourished. The advantageous position in respect of foreign trade led to a considerable expansion of towns. Some of them compared favourably in size and population with European towns like London and Paris. Thus, on basis of the comparative description of the European travellers, one can say that Agra, Lahore and Ahmadabad were among the biggest towns of the world.

During this period, many cities imminently became important due to their advantageous location on the bank of a navigable river or near a good harbour, or in the centre of a productive area, or at a site which provided a strategic location or suitable defence. The trade routes and facilities or means of communication had their own influence in the growth of the towns. Most of the towns in the Mughal period were situated on the junction of the trade routes. Thus a network road passed through the important towns increasing the connectivity with urban & rural and near & distant areas allowing both Indian and foreign merchants to accelerate the trade activity between the towns.

Towns of Mughal period were quite large, had spacious buildings and were also strongly fortified. The lifelike description of the towns in the European travellers' accounts shows that they were well planned and had a magnificent appearance. Public institutions like *sarais*, baths, schools, mosques, wells and gardens were constructed for the benefit of the public and were properly administrated. The policy of the state was benevolent in character. In a city, all sorts of civic amenities were available. Furthermore, the efficient and effective administration of the towns, helped in maintaining tranquillity, supervising trade and proper collection of tolls and taxes from the people.

A majority of towns of Mughal India whether big or small, particularly of Gujarat, Bengal, Sindh, Punjab and Delhi were commercial and manufacturing centres. A statistical survey of cities at the present day proves that these cities long retained their commercial character and that these cities were all along centres of economic activity. The commercial and manufacturing centres extended their influence over the neighbouring regions. The cities became active centres of trade. The trade was rapidly spreading from one town to the other and the neighbouring regions were relations and also have commercial contacts with the outer world.

The development of the indigenous banking system, bills of exchange and insurance during the Mughal period indicates the advanced nature of the centralized commerce administration. To realise the state dues and for carrying on commercial transactions, an effective mechanism was established. Various officers were appointed to control and administrate the markets properly in the interest of both the public and government. Frauds were discouraged in every possible way by the use of standard weights, coins and measures in business transactions. The octroi and custom stations were maintained and controlled. The merchants from other countries were not allowed to pursue any commercial activity without obtaining a licence from the governing authority. A record was maintained of the arrival and departure of the foreign merchants. The port towns were separately administrated and any type of illicit activity was strongly suppressed.

The urban society of Mughal India was based on a hierarchy of social classes particularly in respect of birth and profession. The concentration of wealth with the upper classes allowed them to live a sumptuous life with great pomp. This resulted in a wide gap between the wealth of the people. The middle class was well to do and did not spend money in outward show, but made investments in business for profit. However quite a large number of merchants were established and could be compared with those of the upper classes. The underprivileged class mostly consisted of the working classes, who were living a humble life, striving for a better future. However, in some places the plight of the lower class was deplorable as the evils of capitalism had become apparent in the 17th century. Similarly, the position of women in the society was not an appreciable one, barring the princesses and the other royal women. Many women in the Mughal India paid the price of the deeply rooted social evils. However, this phenomenon was restricted to some of the communities and the

Mughal administration had also taken severe measures to control and abolish such abhorrent activities.

In the domain of art, literature, music, painting and other cultural activities progress was made rapidly. A large variety of pastimes, games and sports were popular. Towns were cultural centres. Scholars and persons interested in religion, education, and cultural pursuits flocked to the urban centres from distant parts of the empire. Communal harmony was generally preserved in the urban centres.

All of these progressive activities contributed towards the phenomena of urbanization during the pinnacle of the Mughal period and I dare say that the epoch of this study can be considered as the foundation of urbanization for the modern day India.

Appendix I

List of Important and widely quoted travellers

S. No.	Traveller	Nationality	Year of visit to India	Mughal Emperors during the visit
1	Ludovico de Varthema	Italy	1502-08	None
2	Duarte Barbosa	Portugal	1516-18	None
3	S. J. Monserrate (missionary)	"	1580-82	Akbar
4	Ralph Fitch	England	1583-91	"
5	Jon Huyghen Van Linschoten	Holland	1583	"
6	John Mildenhall	England	1599-1606	"
7	Francois Pyrard of Laval	France	1608-09	Jahangir
8	William Finch	England	1608-11	"
9	William Hawkins	"	1608-11	"
10	John Jourdain	"	1608-17	"
11	Joseph Salbancke		1609-10	"
12	Thomas Best	"	1612-14	"
13	Thomas Coryat	"	1612-17	"
14	Nicholas Withington	"	1612-16	"
15	Nicholas Downton	"	1614-15	"
16	Richard Steel and John Crowther	"	1615-16	"
17	Thomas Roe	"	1615-19	"
18	Edward Terry	"	1616-19	"
19	Francisco Pelsaert	Holland	1620-27	"
20	Pieter Van Den Brocke	"	1620-29	"
21	Pietro Della Valle	Italy	1623-25	"
22	Thomas Herbert	England	1626-29	Shahjahan
23	Peter Mundy	"	1628-34	"
24	Fray Sebastian Manrique	Portugal	1628-43	"
25	John Albert de Mandelslo	Germany	1638-39	"

26	John Baptiste Tavernier	France	1640-61	"
27	Niccolao Manucci	Italy	1653-1708	Shahjahan and Aurangzeb
28	Francois Bernier	France	1656-68	"
29	Jean de Thevenot	France	1667	Aurangzeb
30	John Marshall	England	1668-72	"
31	Thomas Bowrey	"	1669-79	"
32	Francois Martin	France	1670-94	"
33	Abbe Carre	"	1672-74	"
34	John Fryer	England	1672-81	"
35	Streysham Master	"	1675-80	"
36	William Hedges	"	1681-87	"
37	Alexander Hamilton	"	1688-1723	Aurangzeb and later Mughals
38	John Ovington	"	1689	Aurangzeb
39	Giovanni Francesco Gemilli Careri	France	1695	"
40	William Norris	England	1699-1702	"

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